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The Canadian Historical Review

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THE ELECTIVE COUNCIL OF QUEBEC OF 1657

IN 1655, coming straight from the hunt for the purpose, Louis XIV forbade the *parlement* of Paris all future discussion of matters of state. Two years later, the colonists of New France, through elected representatives, were regulating and administering the whole trade and financial policy of the country. For such were the functions of the Quebec Council of 1647, which might—perhaps a little loosely—be called the first attempt at representative government in Canada.

This extraordinary council came to exist through a very curious chain of circumstances, which may be related here in order to make clear how such a monster as popular representation found its way into a French colony of the seventeenth century. In 1628, the Company of New France, also known as the Company of the One Hundred Associates, had been granted the whole of Canada for the purposes of trade and colonization. In 1632, the company was already bankrupt owing to the capture of its first two fleets by the British. In order to discharge its obligations, it was forced to grant a five years' lease to a subsidiary company which agreed to defray the public expenditure of the infant colony. In 1637, the subsidiary company retired with certain profits and a new one was formed, which lost heavily during its four years' tenure. So in 1641, the Company of New France was constrained to resume the burden of the charter,—but the trade proving successful the Associates reaped in four years a handsome profit of 85,000 livres.¹

Such profits roused the desire and ambition of the influential and richer men of Quebec. It did not seem fair to them that all the benefit of the local fur-trade should be diverted to France. Why should it not remain in the country? Moreover, the colonists should not be forbidden, as they were, to buy furs from the

¹*Arch. col.*, C¹¹A, vol. I, pp. 179-85: *Estat au vray de la despence qui a esté faite par la Compagnie de la Nouvelle France*. In order to avoid useless repetitions it will be sufficient to state that all the manuscript sources quoted are in the Canadian Archives.

Indians.² So a group of Quebec citizens decided to form an association among themselves and obtain from the Company of New France the transfer of its fur monopoly. These men were Pierre Le Gardeur de Repentigny, François de Chavigny, Noël Juchereau des Châtelets, Jacques Leneuf de la Potherie, Michel Leneuf du Hérisson, Guillaume Couillard, Jean Paul Godefroy, Jean Bourdon, Mathurin Gagnon, and Jean Guyon.³

In order to present a stronger front, they looked around for assistance. Unable to gain the sympathy of Governor Montmagny⁴ a most disinterested man, they enlisted the support of Ailleboust, a Montreal leader, and still more important, the influence of the Jesuits.⁵

Consequently, in the autumn of 1644, two members of the group, Pierre Le Gardeur de Repentigny and Jean Paul Godefroy sailed to France, where they conferred with the directors of the Company of New France. To make a deeper impression they represented themselves as the delegates of the whole colony which they claimed was desirous of forming, from all the inhabitants, a "corps de compagnie", exclusively entitled to trade with the Indians,⁶—such trade according to them being the only means of supporting the country and bringing in more immigrants.

The delegates succeeded in convincing the directors, whose financial condition was quickly sinking as a result of recent law-suits, to transfer their trade monopoly to the inhabitants of New France, who then numbered less than 400 souls.⁷ An agreement was signed stipulating that the Company of New France would retain its feudal rights and ownership in Canada, but would cede to "the inhabitants of New France present and to come, all right and facility of the fur trade in New France to be enjoyed by them to the exclusion of all others . . . but only in common". In return the inhabitants undertook to defray all the expenses required for the maintenance of the colony, including salaries of officials, clergy, and troops; to send out twenty colonists every year; and, also, to pay to the Company of New France a thousand beaver skins annually.⁸ This agreement of January 14, 1645,

²*Ibid.*, *F⁸*, vol. 2-1, p. 10: Mémoire de Canada, M. de la Chesnaye, 1697.

³*Documents de Saint-Sulpice*, vol. I, pp. 40-1: Traité entre de Repentigny et La Dauversière, 12 déc., 1645 et 9 oct., 1646.

⁴*Arch. col.*, *F⁸*, vol. 2-1, p. 10: Mémoire de Canada.

⁵*Journal des Jésuites* (Québec, Brousseau, 1871), 3.

⁶*Documents de Saint-Sulpice*, vol. I, p. 25: Traité particulier, 14 janv., 1645.

⁷*Arch. col.*, *C¹¹A*, vol. 125-1, fol. 71: Arrêt . . . 1663.

⁸*Min. Col. Dépôt des fortifications*, carton 5, p. 123: Mémoire sur le Commerce en Canada de castors Et autres pelteryes.

was confirmed by a royal *arrêt* or order-in-council on March 6 of the same year.⁹ It was understood that trade would be managed by directors selected by the inhabitants, as it was assumed that they were all members of the association.¹⁰

Repentigny returned to Canada in August in time to secure for his partners the benefit of the beavers brought to Quebec by sixty Huron canoes. The share of the *Compagnie des Habitants* or the *Communauté*, as the new association had come to be known, was 20,000 pounds, which meant at 10 livres or francs a pound, a sale of 200,000 francs.¹¹

This sudden prosperity upset the equilibrium of the Quebec directors. They started aggrandizing themselves and spending in such a lavish manner¹² that the less fortunate citizens protested openly,¹³ the malcontents including important men who had first refused to join the association and were now sore and sorry about it.

In the next year, the trade was still better. The members of the board voted themselves big salaries. But Governor Maisonneuve as representative of Montreal having refused to sign, the gratuities were dropped.¹⁴ As a result, a petition containing complaints of abuses and suggesting a new system of management,¹⁵ went to Paris. In response to it the king created, in March, 1647, to replace the board of directors, a special council which came to be known as the Council of Quebec. Consisting of the governor and, in the absence of a bishop, the superior of the Jesuits and the governor of Montreal, it was empowered to appoint all officers and clerks connected with the fur-trade, to examine and audit all bills and fix all salaries, and "in general provide for all that may be needful for the trade and the welfare of the said country". The syndics of the inhabitants of Quebec, of Three Rivers, and of Montreal, "elected each year by the inhabitants of these places by ballot" had, said the *arrêt*, "the right of entry to and session in, the said council, without deliberative vote, but merely to represent that which concerns their duties,

⁹*Biblio. Nat. Fonds français*, 10207: Articles accordéz entre les Directeurs et Associés en la Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France.

¹⁰*Documents de Saint-Sulpice*, vol. I, p. 24: Les Directeurs et Associez de la compagnie de la Nouvelle-France . . . 14 janv., 1645.

¹¹*Journal des Jésuites*, 3, 7, and 67.

¹²*Arch. col.*, F³, vol. 2-1, p. 11: Mémoire de Canada.

¹³*Journal des Jésuites*, 30.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 67-8.

¹⁵*Correspondance officielle*, 2e série, vol. I, p. 196: Arrêt rendu sur requête de la Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France, 15 mars, 1656.

and the interests of their Communities". The fur-trade was thrown open to all genuine inhabitants on condition, and not otherwise, of bringing all their furs to the public stores to be bought at prices fixed by the council; the profit thereof was to be "used for the welfare and increase" of the colony as should be decreed by the council. The king himself fixed the salaries of the governors of Quebec and Montreal and the number and pay of their garrisons. All proceedings of the council were to be reported to the commissioners of the king's council appointed to look after the affairs of New France.¹⁶

When the king's *arrêt* reached Quebec in the latter part of June, 1647, the elections of the syndics¹⁷ were proceeded with and on August 11 the new regulations were published.¹⁸ Most probably the first meeting of the council took place in September. Its powers being in the hands of the governor-general, Montmagny, the governor of Montreal, Maisonneuve, and the superior of the Jesuits, Jérôme Lalemant, the three most upright men of the colony, the former heads of the *Communauté*, Repentigny and his consorts, were left in the cold. Strongly displeased, they lost no time in despatching to France two new delegates, Ailleboust and Juchereau, who succeeded in obtaining through an *arrêt*, dated March 5, 1648, essential changes to the regulations of 1647.

First, it was enacted that the governor would remain in office but three years. As to the council, while retaining its former powers, it was remodelled to consist of the governor in office, the former governor, and the superior of the Jesuits, to whom were added two of the inhabitants "to be elected every three years by the persons forming the said council, the syndics of the communities of Quebec, Montreal and Three-Rivers being called with them for this purpose". For the first year, the king appointed nominally Chavigny, Godefroy, and Giffard, two out of the five members constituting a quorum. When in Quebec, the governors of Montreal and Three Rivers could sit as regular members of council. Trade between France and Canada was thrown open to everybody, but under the regulations set up by council, and no public borrowing was to be effected without its consent.¹⁹

These regulations were a clever move on the part of the organizers of the *Compagnie des Habitants*. By the three-year

¹⁶*Arch. col.*, F³, vol. 3, pp. 169 ff.: Règlement pour établir un bon ordre et police en Canada, 27 mars, 1647.

¹⁷*Journal des Jésuites*, 92.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 94.

¹⁹*Arch. col.*, F³, vol. 3, pp. 180 ff.: Arrest du 5 mars, 1648.

rule Montmagny was eliminated and by the remodelling of the council Maisonneuve became only an occasional member. The nomination of Chavigny, Godefroy, and Giffard invested them with a majority vote. Their success was still greater as Ailleboust, one of the partners, was appointed governor to succeed Montmagny. The former promoters thus secured a full control of the council.

Under this régime, the colony was able to carry on its Indian trade with satisfactory profit. Such profit incited one of the most influential members of the Company of New France, Jean de Lauzon, to come to Canada as governor when Ailleboust had to retire in 1651. He came out entrusted with powers that made him the absolute ruler of the colony. Unfortunately trade had already begun to be less profitable owing to the Iroquois entering on the war path. After 1652 their continuous raids made the country insecure and dislocated the fur-trade.²⁰ The *Compagnie des Habitants* felt the result very acutely: no beavers or only a greatly reduced number came in, while public expenditure was maintained if not increased, the colony's budget in 1652 reaching about 50,000 livres.²¹ Owing to lack of trade, the *Communauté* was obliged to suspend in 1653 the sending of the thousand beaver skins to the Company of New France, and two years later was forced to apply to the king for a five years' moratorium of its debts, which application was granted.²²

Now the Company of New France found that this was going too far. They went to the king's council and represented that the Quebec council was nothing but a screen for local business men and that the inhabitants did not enjoy any more privileges than under the former régime. Upon their suggestions, the king, apparently always ready to oblige with a new order-in-council, enacted special and stringent trade regulations including provision for the election of the store clerk and allowing the fiscal attorney of the Company of New France to be present at the council's meetings but without deliberative vote. The superior of the Jesuits was at his own request relieved of attendance at council.²³

With the Iroquois war continuing, the state of affairs failed

²⁰*Arch. nat.*, E, vol. 1702, fol. 3: Arrêt du 23 fév., 1655.

²¹*Corr. off.*, 2e série, vol. I, pp. 183-6: Etat au vrai des charges et des dépenses debtes actives et passives de la communauté des habitants de la Nouvelle-France.

²²*Arch. nat.*, E, vol. 1792, fol. 3: Arrêt du 23 fév., 1655.

²³*Corr. off.*, 2e série, vol. I, pp. 196 ff.: Arrêt rendu sur requête de la compagnie de la Nouvelle-France, 15 mars, 1656.

to improve, so much so that the *Habitants* offered to return their trade privilege to the Company of New France which stoutly refused and proceeded once more to suggest new regulations as a remedy to depression. Thereupon, the king issued a fourth *arrêt* totally reforming once more the everchanging council.

The *arrêt* of March, 1657, is the most important of all, for it introduced into Canada popular representation, a thing unknown in any French territory of the time. It decreed that the council would consist of the governor, of a director of trade appointed for three years by the Company of New France, and of four regular councillors, two of whom were to be elected by the inhabitants of Quebec, and one each by those of Montreal and Three Rivers. The council was to expedite all matters relating to trade and public expenditure but without power of changing the salaries and charges fixed by previous royal regulations, except in the case of unforeseen expenditure which the governor could provide for on the spot.²⁴

The council provided by the last *arrêt* was established in 1658 by the new governor, Argenson.²⁵ But royal edicts, however numerous, proved to be no match against Iroquois raids, and the fur-trade continued to dwindle so that two years later the *Communauté*, heavily indebted, was obliged to lease its trade monopoly to a company headed by Toussaint Guenet. In return for the exclusive trading privileges, Guenet's company agreed to pay 10,000 livres per annum to extinguish the debts of the *Communauté*, as well as a sum of 50,000 livres in exchange for the one-fourth beaver duty,²⁶ the treaty being ratified by the king's council.²⁷ A year later, Bishop Laval, who had been in the country for two years, was made a member of the council by a royal order to the governor, Argenson.²⁸

The council's composition remained unchanged till a new governor, Dubois d'Avaugour, landed in Quebec in August, 1661. A man of insight and decision, he was so dissatisfied with the colony's administration, that he suppressed the existing council²⁹ and replaced it by one of his own choice composed of

²⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 209 ff.: Arrêt du Conseil d'Etat, 8 mars, 1657.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 228 and 233: Double de la lettre escripte par le Vaisseau du Sr Gaigneur du 5 sept., 1658.

²⁶*Arch. col.*, F³, vol. 3, pp. 290 and 294: Articles accordés entre René Robineau . . . et Toussaint Guenet, 5 fév., 1660.

²⁷*Corr. off.*, 2e série, vol. 1, pp. 341 ff.: Arrêt du 20 fév., 1660.

²⁸*Aff. étrangères, Mémoires et documents, Amérique*, vol. 5, fol. 12: Arrêt, 24 mai, 1661.

²⁹*Arch. col.*, C¹¹A, vol. 2, p. 23: Mémoire des abus . . .

the superior of the Jesuits, Father Ragueneau, and three other members.³⁰ At the same time, entirely disregarding Guenet's monopoly of trade, he allowed all merchants to come in and trade at will. Avaugour's high-handed action was the last innovation in the council's chequered career, which was replaced two years later by the creation of the Sovereign Council, the special importance of which, it may be noted, was entirely due to the inheritance of its predecessor's functions.

It is worth while here to consider briefly the extraordinary complexity of the government of New France during the period under examination. At the top stood the king, royal suzerain and absolute legislator. Under him came the Company of New France, feudal owner of the country, granting seignories and collecting fees, appointing officials of justice and paying their salaries. Next stood the governor who, nominated by the company, but appointed by the king, was the colony's highest court of appeal, wielded absolute authority in military and civil regulations, and even in trade and financial matters, in any case of emergency. Under him the *Communauté* of the inhabitants possessed the monopoly of the fur-trade, while the Quebec council, composed of members elected from the colony at large, regulated the commercial policy and public expenditure of the country. What a devolution and intermingling of confused authority!

As the council's registers were destroyed in the burning of the intendant's palace in 1713, it is not possible to say much about its procedure, except that it was presided over by the governor and attended by a secretary, that two members constituted a quorum and all matters could be freely discussed but only by members possessing a "deliberate voice". Decisions were arrived at by the ordinary mode of individual vote, the governor casting the decisive vote in case of equal division of members. The decisions of council were known either as *arrêts*, or *ordonnances*. The councillors were given first place in public ceremonies and in religious services they came immediately after the church wardens.

Thanks to *ordonnances* and extracts from the registers which have survived in various ways, it is possible, but only to a certain extent, as material is very meagre, to describe the functions of council. It may be said at once that if its composition often changed, its powers as a whole remained unaltered. First, and foremost, it controlled and regulated all details of the fur-trade,

³⁰P. C. de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, Latouzey & Ané, 1896), II, 527.

enacting when and where, how and whom by, the purchase of furs could be made. It forbade any diverting of beavers on pain of fines and even of banishment.³¹ It imposed duties on all furs sent out of the country.³² It lay within its power to farm any part of the fur-trade³³ or even to sublet the monopoly of the whole trade. It also adopted regulations governing barter with Indians and appointed the various trade-clerks and storekeepers, as well as the ship captains and the admiral of the trade fleet. It also controlled any kind of commerce, having the exclusive right to issue shipping permits and trading licences to outside merchants desiring to bring and sell goods in Canada,³⁴ and exercising even the right of determining the rate of profit on merchandise.³⁵ It could also fix the rate at which French coins should be circulated in the colony.³⁶ Its authority went as far as to impose a general duty on all goods imported into the country even when coming from France.³⁷ Finally in the case of violation of any trade regulation, the council could sit as a court and pronounce sentences and impose fines.³⁸

In the financial field of government, the council's authority was quite as wide and important. It is true that the salaries of governors and garrisons were fixed in ordinary cases, but all the other public expenditure was discussed and decided upon by the councillors. No public borrowing could be effected without their sanction, but they could themselves borrow for the *Communauté*. They could increase the number of soldiers and order the construction of fortifications, forts, and redoubts. They determined the number of boats and sailors to be employed. They looked after the necessary supply of military stores, arms, and ammunitions. They voted the money for the distribution of presents to the Indian tribes and paid the wages of delegates and interpreters.

In the field of civil administration they looked after the sick and the destitute, paying for medical attendance and housing of the invalids. They extended financial assistance to the missionaries and the various religious communities, and paid an annual allowance to the parish wardens for the maintenance of the church and regular services. In broader matters of general

³¹ *Arch. col.*, F³, vol. 3-1, pp. 191-2: Extrait de divers arrêts. . .

³² *Corr. off.*, 2e série, vol. I, p. 156: Décision du 3 mai, 1653.

³³ *Arch. col.*, C¹¹A, vol. 59, pp. 254: Arrest du Conseil, 19 oct., 1658.

³⁴ *Amirauté de la Rochelle*, B. prov. 80, Permission, 2 oct., 1658.

³⁵ *Papiers de Lafontaine*, vol. 32, pp. 34-5: Arrêt du Conseil, 13 sept., 1654.

³⁶ *Arch. col.*, C¹¹A, vol. 4, p. 236: Mémoire.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, F³, vol. 4-1, p. 140: Requête présentée par le syndic, 1672.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 3-1, p. 192: Extrait de divers arrêts.

policy, they exercised certain powers entailing some expenditure. For instance, they encouraged immigration by obliging trading vessels to bring colonists to the country and by fixing the tariff for sea-passage.

An important point is that the Quebec councillors were not only the elected representatives of the people enacting legislation, but they also acted as administrative and executive officials, and sometimes discharged judicial duties. They thus combined three kinds of functions in government.

Here a short explanation may be needed. In spite of the terms of the *arrêt* of 1647, granting to the council authority to provide "for all that may be needful for the trade and the welfare of the said country", it must not be concluded that the council was entitled to deal with matters of general public policy. Far from it. The words, "the welfare of the said country", are simply a stereotyped French formula rounding out a sentence and must not be read by themselves but interpreted in conformity with the context, which entirely relates to trade and finances. For one must not forget that the real administrative and executive authority was the governor, whose powers as expressed by his commission and exemplified by his actions made him the absolute ruler of the country. In fact none of the many royal *arrêts* altered in any way the extent of his authority, with the exception perhaps of the *arrêt* of 1659, which reserved to the king the interdiction of judges and court officials.³⁹

The conclusion is evident, that the council's province was limited to trade and finances. Even there, their activities remained under the control and overruling authority of the governor. As a matter of fact, there is a letter of Louis XIV to Lauzon, which enlarges, if possible, the governor's sphere of action and delegates to him full authority "in military matters as well as justice, police and finances, in an absolute manner and last resort"; it empowers him also to issue enactments and regulations concerning troops, justice, police, finances, commerce, the barter of furs, and trade,—and finally states that the governor's regulations shall have full effect "notwithstanding the regulations adopted since the transferring of the fur trade to the inhabitants of New France, which you are not obliged to carry out unless you find it expedient".⁴⁰ Such sweeping powers made the governor completely

³⁹*Aff. étrangères, Mém. et doc. Amérique*, vol. 5, pp. 334 ff.: Arrest, 13 mai., 1659.

⁴⁰Amedée Gosselin, "Notes et documents concernant les gouverneurs d'Ailleboust, de Lauzon et de Lauzon-Charny" (*Mémoires de la Société royale du Canada*, XXVI, 1932, 95).

free to nullify any decision of the council, if he so decided, and in fact such authority was occasionally exercised. A few instances will suffice. In 1653, Lauzon interrupted the shipment to the Company of New France of the annual 1,000 beaver skins. In 1656, he forced the clerk of the council to pay him his return expenses on his sailing back to France. Still more conclusive is the case of Governor d'Avaugour, who, in 1661, abolished the whole council and created a new one of his own choice.⁴¹

But even with its limitation to trade and financial matters and its subjection to the governor's possible overruling, the Quebec council remains a most unusual feature of the early French régime in Canada, though curiously enough it seems to have been in accordance with the spirit of the colony, since Montreal citizens elected for a time their militia officers in 1663, and even their police magistrates in 1664. Still it is an extraordinary fact to find that at a time of complete royal autocracy in France the two thousand colonists of Canada were enjoying a sort of system of popular representation, and were electing representatives empowered to regulate and administer the most important activities of government in the fields of trade and public finance. Thus, to a certain extent, the Quebec council may be said to have been in an embryonic way the first Canadian parliament.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

⁴¹Rochemonteix, *Ibid.*, II, 527.

A FENIAN INTERLUDE THE STORY OF MICHAEL MURPHY

I

THE Fenian movement, though remembered in Canada chiefly as a series of threats and acts of aggression directed by Irish-American extremists against the Canadian border during the years 1865 to 1871, was not without a more purely domestic aspect. At frequent intervals during that anxious period the Canadian authorities found themselves obliged to bestow careful attention upon the activities of Fenian sympathizers within the provinces themselves; though fortunately the actively disaffected were not numerous enough to be a really serious danger to the queen's peace.

The old Province of Canada numbered among its citizens many thousands of recent Irish immigrants, a very large proportion of whom had left their native island under the terrible conditions produced by the potato famine of 1845-6.¹ In the nature of things, the political complexion of most of these expatriates was not notably different from that of the larger body of their countrymen who were attracted during the same years to the United States of America: that is to say, whatever their attitude to Canadian affairs might be, they were in greater or less degree hostile to the continuance of British rule in Ireland. Luckily for Canada, however, circumstances which in the United States perpetuated the Irish as a vocal racial group remarkable for its hatred of England were not present within her borders. The prevailing political sentiment of the country was British, and in the face of this fact Irish nationalism was obliged in some measure to moderate its transports, while at the same time it encountered assimilative influences whose effects have appeared in later generations. More important still, the social situation of the Irish in Canada was not identical with that of their compatriots to the south.

In the United States, Irish immigrants who had been farmers at home were suddenly transformed into urban labourers. They collected in great colonies in the industrial cities of the Atlantic seaboard, where, supporting themselves in the main by manual labour, they dwelt under slum conditions, and were used and

¹On the most critical phase of this migration, see G. Tucker, "The famine immigration to Canada, 1847" (*American historical review*, April, 1931, 533-49).

victimized by unscrupulous politicians. In Canada these circumstances could not be exactly reproduced, if only for the fact that she had no such great towns. At the census of 1851 even Montreal was credited with fewer than 60,000 souls, Quebec with 42,000, Toronto with barely 30,000. In consequence a majority, probably, of the Irish continued to follow in Canada the way of life to which they had been bred, seeking employment as farm labourers or taking up land on their own account.² In these circumstances they could constitute no such political entity as was formed by the recent Irish immigrants in the country next door.

Canada, nevertheless, was not without a parallel, at least on a small scale, to the American situation. Her chief towns, it is true, contained only a small part of her whole Irish population; but in the population of those towns themselves the Irish were a very formidable proportion. In 1851 they accounted for 11,736 out of Montreal's total population of 57,715. Even more striking was the situation in Toronto; for there the Irish-born amounted to more than one-third of the total, and actually outnumbered the natives of the province.³ Although many Irishmen of families that had been for some time in Canada occupied prominent positions in provincial society, most of these recent immigrants were found in the lower social strata. It would seem, in particular, that the urban Irish made more work for the police than any other single element of the population. In 1865, the Toronto force made 3,407 arrests. In 1,791 cases the offender was of Irish birth; while of 1,447 persons committed to the city gaol, 775 were Irish, as against only 297 natives of the Canadas.⁴

Irish immigrants, Protestant and Roman Catholic, had long since transplanted the baneful factional strife of Ireland to Canadian soil; and it flourished rankly in many sections of the upper province, including the city of Toronto, where Charles Dickens, for instance, remarked it as a "discreditable and disgraceful" feature of the life of the place when he visited it in 1842.⁵

²Thomas D'Arcy McGee discusses this matter in his anti-Fenian pamphlet, *The Irish position in British and in republican North America* (Montreal, 1866). In 1851 the total Irish population of the Canadas was 227,766; of these only 29,375 resided in the three largest cities (*Census of the Canadas, 1851-52*, I, pp. xx, 30, 104).

³Population of Toronto, 30,775; Irish-born, 11,305; Canadian-born, 10,423 (*ibid.*, 30). By 1861 the population had risen to 44,821, of whom 12,441 were Irish (*Census of the Canadas, 1860-61*, I, 48).

⁴Reports of chief constable and governor of gaol (Toronto *Leader*, Jan. 23, 1866).

⁵Charles Dickens, *American notes* (New York, 1842), chapter xv. Dickens was especially shocked to hear of the fatal rioting that had accompanied the first election to the parliament of United Canada.

These feuds lent rancour to the contests of local politics, and in addition caused disturbances of a special sort. The 1850's were a time of fierce religious struggle, and peaceful citizens dreaded the approach of the Boyne anniversary and St. Patrick's day, when the contending parties were wont to march out in search of trouble. In Toronto a crisis occurred on March 17, 1858, a day of riotous disorder in the course of which a Roman Catholic named Sheedy was stabbed to death. The coroner's jury was unable to determine who inflicted the fatal wound; and there were allegations that the police force (largely, it would seem, composed of Orangemen) had not done its whole duty. It is apparently to this riot of 1858 that we must trace the origin of the Irish association which later came to be regarded as Canada's chief Fenian organization; for in the same year a group of Toronto Catholics, who claimed to have lost confidence in the law, organized "The Hibernian Benevolent Society of Canada."⁶ McGee seems to have spoken reasonably when, years afterwards, he blamed the existence of Fenianism in Toronto on the crazy factiousness which had long reigned there. "In Toronto", he wrote, "one extreme is made auxiliary to the other; Orangeism has been made the pretext of Fenianism, and Fenianism is doing its best to justify and magnify Orangeism."⁷

Of the society's early organization and history we can say little. After it had become notorious, however, a copy of its constitution, dated 1865, came into the hands of the *Toronto Leader*, which published extracts from it. These indicate that the society was then on a secret and military basis, with "signs and passwords", and an organization of companies, each governed by "a captain and first and second lieutenants". It was provided that "delegates to the convention for the election of officers" should "bring a report of the strength in numbers and arms, and of the general efficiency of their company, and the annual fee due by the company to the society".⁸ These companies were presumably identical with the "lodges" often spoken of in connection with the Hibernians; in 1866 nine of these lodges were reported to exist in Toronto.⁹

⁶Letter of Michael Murphy explaining the founding of the society (*Toronto Globe*, Dec. 14, 1864; *Globe* comments, Dec. 16). There are facts on the disturbance of 1858 in "A St. Patrick's day riot in Toronto" in A. R. Hassard, *Famous Canadian trials* (Toronto, 1924).

⁷*The Irish position*, 15-6.

⁸*Leader*, April 17, 1866.

⁹Public Archives of Canada, *Macdonald papers*, McMicken reports, IV, 72-3.

The president of the organization was destined to at least a local and evanescent fame. He bore the name of Michael Murphy; and something concerning the nature of the society's membership may perhaps be inferred from the fact that its executive head kept a tavern on Esplanade Street. The *Toronto Globe*, which had watched his career with deep though hostile interest, characterized him, at the time of his final collision with the authorities, as "a vain, excitable, untrustworthy man, not wanting in talent, but without education; vigorous and active, but lacking discretion, and quite incapable of influencing any large body of his countrymen".¹⁰ Allowing for the *Globe's* prejudice, it is perhaps safe to say that, while Murphy was very far from being a great figure, he was not a person whose activities could safely be regarded with mere contempt.

The Hibernians possessed an organ in the press—the *Irish Canadian*, whose proprietors were prominent in the society. A Canadian writing to *The Times* called it "the one disloyal newspaper in Upper Canada";¹¹ and the error of its utterances was certainly not on the side of discretion. It was a particularly bitter enemy of Thomas D'Arcy McGee.¹²

The Fenian Brotherhood, founded in Dublin on the strength of American funds and promises on the same St. Patrick's day that saw the Toronto riot, acquired during the next few years a large membership among the Irish in the United States. It would seem that members of the Hibernian Benevolent Society became interested in Fenianism at a relatively early stage, for in 1866 the police, while investigating its activities, came across a membership card dated 1864, identifying the bearer as "a member in good standing of the Toronto Circle of the Fenian Brotherhood, established by the authority of the H.C. (Head Centre) for America, John O'Mahony, in 1860". It bore the signatures of Murphy as "C.C." (which might signify "Canadian Centre") and of Mortimer Moriarty as head of circle.¹³ The first national congress of the American Fenians was held in Chicago in November, 1863; and the *Globe* affirmed that it had positive proof that Murphy, along with other Canadians of similar stripe, was present in Chicago at the time.¹⁴ We should probably not be far wrong in assuming that at first the Hibernian Society was

¹⁰*Globe*, April 11, 1866.

¹¹*The Times*, March 30, 1866.

¹²I. Skelton, *Life of Thomas D'Arcy McGee* (Gardenvale, 1925), 437-8.

¹³*Leader*, April 30, 1866; cf. *Macdonald papers*, Fenians, II, 507-8.

¹⁴*Globe*, Dec. 16, 1864.

no more than the association for local protection of Irish Roman Catholics that it professed to be, but that with the passage of time Murphy and a few associates, inspired by American Fenianism, attempted to turn it to some account in the interest of militant Irish nationalism. We cannot say that the Fenian circle in Toronto was identical with the Hibernian Society—it seems more likely that it comprised in fact a confidential group within it.¹⁵ Certainly the personal connection between the two was very close.

For a time the Hibernians enjoyed the official approval of their church. On St. Patrick's day of 1864, for instance, they marched to mass, and afterwards were addressed outside the cathedral by the bishop of Toronto, J. J. Lynch, who dwelt upon the evils of Irish government in a vein of ardent nationalism.¹⁶ But they forfeited the respectability conferred by the episcopal blessing when in the autumn of the same year they indulged in a demonstration that made all Upper Canada's flesh creep.

Previous to the fifth of November the story went round Toronto that on that honourable anniversary the Orangemen intended to assemble and burn for their diversion effigies of Guy Fawkes, Daniel O'Connell, and other notoriously un-Orange persons. Murphy's men apparently felt themselves strong enough to accept this supposed challenge; for though the Orange celebration, belying the rumours, was kept indoors, the benevolent Hibernians chose (if we may be permitted an expression surely not inappropriate) to appear that night in the light of day. Soon after nightfall they began to gather in groups in certain localities; and their further activities may best be described in the words of the *Globe*:

Until a late hour not much was to be seen of these men, except that they remained here and there in small groups through the city. At about eleven o'clock, however, they seemed to have assembled according to a pre-arranged plan in three different localities, and after being marshalled into companies with military precision, they marched through several streets. One party, composed of a couple

¹⁵This is stated in the *Leader* (May 6, 1868) with a conviction that might almost indicate that the suggestion came from Gilbert McMicken, who had been in Toronto to arrest some of the Hibernians the day before. The chief constable of Toronto, Captain Prince, writing to Macdonald on January 4, 1866, says the Hibernian Society is "chiefly composed of these Fenians with Mr. Murphy at their head" (Public Archives of Canada, *Series G.*, vol. 180 B, p.191).

¹⁶*Globe*, March 18. Murphy also spoke, saying among other things that he could not agree with the clergy "with regard to a certain society organized on this continent for the purpose of assisting in gaining the freedom of Ireland" which had been condemned by certain bishops.

of hundred, was seen coming down the college avenue, armed with weapons of various kinds; another party, numbering about sixty, was seen about half-past twelve o'clock passing down Queen street. They were marching four deep like a company of soldiers, and in turning corners, changing the position of their arms, &c., received the word of command from some leading man in the party. They were armed with guns, pistols, swords, and weapons of other descriptions. There can be no doubt of this, as two or three policemen as well as several other parties saw them, though none of them could be recognized on account of the disguises they wore. A third party was seen in the east-end of the city, armed as the others and apparently ready for a row. In each case the men moved on with the precision and regularity of a body of soldiers, and it was quite evident to all who saw them that they were drilled, and skilled in company manoeuvres. Some time near two o'clock, a few shots were fired in the west-end of the city, and a few minutes later the same number of shots were heard in the east-end, apparently in answer to the others. After that all was quiet, and no more was seen or heard of these midnight wanderers. It is quite evident that these men were completely organized and prepared for any emergency, and had the Orangemen turned out, there would undoubtedly have been a scene of bloodshed such as Toronto has rarely witnessed.¹⁷

This portent was followed by a sudden burst of activity on the part of the Toronto police; and they brought to the bar one McGuire, the proprietor of a Queen Street tavern where a Hibernian lodge was said to meet, and where a number of pike-heads and staves were found. But they failed to adduce evidence that these had ever been carried in public, and McGuire was discharged. He even obtained a court order for the return of the weapons; but the *Globe* was able to say with satisfaction, "from all we can hear there will be some difficulty in finding the pikes, as they have mysteriously disappeared from the room in which they were placed."¹⁸ Newspaper accusations against the Hibernians, and the assumption that as a matter of course they were Fenians, drew from Murphy a letter to the *Globe* in which, describing the origin of the society, he denied that it had any Fenian connections, but immediately added, "in making this explanation the Hibernians wish to place on record their heartfelt sympathy with any organization, be it Fenian or otherwise, having for its object the freedom and prosperity of the Irish people on Irish soil".¹⁹

The events in Toronto were echoed during the next few weeks in the occurrence of a series of ludicrous panics in various districts

¹⁷*Globe*, Nov. 7, 1864.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, Nov. 8, 9, 11, 22, 24, 1864.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, Dec. 14, 1864.

of Canada West. An hysterical anxiety manifested itself among the country people. The old religious hatreds—the fear and mistrust with which Protestant farmers habitually regarded the inhabitants of neighbouring Roman Catholic townships—were fanned into flame, and the wildest stories found a measure of belief. The *Globe*, to its discredit, published some letters better calculated to arouse than to allay the fears of its many rural readers. The most violent of these is tragic evidence of the bitterness of the religious feud in old Canada:

A second "massacre of Bartholomew" may be expected, unless we guard carefully against it. It is well known that the Fenian organization has a network throughout the whole of Canada, and at a given time the different corps will rise *en masse* and deal destruction to all Protestants . . . In the Roman Catholic churches the "pikes" (of which we have heard so much in this city), guns, pistols, and ammunition, are stored in great quantities, so as to be ready at the appointed time. These offensive weapons have been distributed through the connivance of Roman Catholic Custom-house officers, wherever these are placed, and they are sent to places where they could not be introduced by the assistance of the officers.

I am no alarmist [!] but these facts have been made known by one who formerly belonged to the organization . . .²⁰

When the acknowledged leader of the press of British America gave currency to such stuff as this, no one could be surprised that gales of panic swept the rural districts. The village of Orangeville, for instance, had a bout of it in December, when the myth circulated that "Several hundred Fenians had, the night previous, attacked and destroyed an Orange Hall and a Presbyterian Church in Mono, and were rapidly marching towards the village, destroying everything in their way, and putting all Protestants to the sword, regardless of age or sex". Farmers flocked into the place, and the excited people organized to resist a menace that existed only in their own imaginations. A correspondent who described similar scenes in Listowel reported that the Roman Catholics were said to be concealing arms by burying them in coffins in their cemeteries!²¹ As the weeks passed, however, and no second Bartholomew materialized, the country became quiet again.²² On the St. Patrick's day next following, the Hibernian Benevolent

²⁰*Ibid.*, Nov. 19, 1864. When the panics broke out the *Globe* refrained from publishing any more material of this sort.

²¹*Ibid.*, Dec. 19, 20, 1864.

²²It is amusing to note that Joseph Howe in Nova Scotia, seeking for arguments to employ against Confederation, allowed himself to resort to the petty expedient of using this Fenian episode to disparage the people of Canada (J. A. Chisholm, ed., *The speeches and public letters of Joseph Howe* (Halifax, 1909), II, 435).

Society refrained from parading. Instead, they held a meeting in the Music Hall, and listened with apparent approval to an address by an agitator from New York, which the *Globe* described as "one tirade of the vilest trash that could be hunted up in the very hot-bed of Fenianism".²³

II

We come now to the year 1866—which saw both the zenith of American Fenianism and the climax of the career of the Hibernian Society and its chief. From the newspapers of the day, supplemented by references in the voluminous papers of Sir John Macdonald, it is possible to piece together with an approach to completeness the story of Mike Murphy's fall; and perhaps there is some diversion to be derived from it. Unlike some other chapters in Fenian history, this episode contains but little of the tragic element to mar the progress of the comedy.

The Fenians in the United States redoubled their activity after the conclusion of the Civil War; but at its moment of greatest opportunity the movement became divided against itself. One group under John O'Mahony, the original Head Centre, worked for revolution on Irish soil, while the other, led by William R. Roberts, began to preach the invasion of Canada.²⁴ Like other Fenians, the Toronto malcontents had to choose between the two; and they did not hesitate. Fearing, presumably, lest aggression against the province from outside should lead to reprisals against themselves, they stuck to O'Mahony, and the American press published a manifesto of the "Fenian Brotherhood of Canada" reprobating the invasion scheme.²⁵ A report from one of the Canadian government's active but illiterate detectives, who had been detailed to watch the Hibernians, seems to indicate that they viewed the Roberts plan with real apprehension: "The Men here is again the parties comming here. They are all O'Mahony men here. The president gave them his word last night that they would never see any of the Men from the states here it was Ireland they wanted, and that they should all be prepared to go at once if called on . . .".²⁶

At this period, in point of fact, the Irish nationalists of Canada

²³*Globe*, March 18, 1865.

²⁴Cf. C. P. Stacey, "Fenianism and the rise of national feeling in Canada at the time of Confederation" (*CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, Sept., 1931, 238-61).

²⁵Reprinted in *Leader*, Feb. 12, 1866. It is dated "Toronto, C. W., Feb. 1, 1866".

²⁶McMicken reports, IV, 189, March 8, 1866.

do not seem to have objected to the principles of Canadian government; on the contrary, we find some of them arguing that the application of the same principles to Ireland would remove that country's just cause for complaint.²⁷ It was for Canada a highly fortunate circumstance that the Irish immigration of the famine period coincided in time with the final victory in the struggle for responsible government. Had that great body of discontented Irishmen arrived earlier, or had the concession been longer deferred, the struggle might have taken a different and a much more violent course. As it was, no practical grievance could be manufactured out of Canada's relation to the mother country; and largely because of this fact Canadian Fenianism never became particularly dangerous. The initial impulse behind the Hibernian Society was simply the natural urge to self-preservation on the part of a religious minority—more suggestive of the "ribbonman" than of the purely political nationalism of the true Fenian.²⁸ Many men might join an association which seemed to offer practical protection against what they believed to be a present social peril; but only a few bolder spirits like Murphy himself were ready to take risks for the distant ideal of a free Ireland. The rest would sympathize freely, but preferred to avoid collision with a government with which they had no quarrel.²⁹

As spring advanced in 1866, American Fenian activity increased, and the rumour circulated that on St. Patrick's day a raid would take place. When on March 7 the Canadian government called out 10,000 volunteers for active duty, some of those summoned to Toronto from the country were billeted at Murphy's public-house, and that worthy was never more Irish than when he admitted the joke was on him and dispensed them ample hospitality.³⁰ The fateful anniversary approached; anxiety grew, and eyes turned with special apprehension towards the tainted metropolis of the upper province—for, though the fact has long been forgotten, Toronto was at this time universally regarded as the citadel of Canadian Fenianism. It was whispered that suspicious characters from other cities, and from the United States,

²⁷*Leader*, March 19, May 4, 1866; *Globe*, March 18, 1864 (speech of Bishop Lynch) and March 18, 1868 (speech of Boyle).

²⁸For the distinction between ribbonism and Fenianism, see John O'Leary, *Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism* (London, 1896), I, 111-2.

²⁹*Cf.* the reports made to Macdonald on the situation in Irish townships north of Port Hope, where attempts to form volunteer corps had failed (*Macdonald papers*, Private letter book, IX, 152, 232 (Sept.-Oct., 1866), and *Fenians*, III, 986, 1070).

³⁰*Leader*, March 12.

were converging there, ready to act in conjunction with a hostile enterprise from across the border.

The Toronto St. Patrick's Society, representing the more solid Irish citizens, now decided to refrain from celebrating the occasion, and this decision was applauded by the *Canadian freeman*, a local Irish journal which spared no words in denunciation of the Hibernians and the *Irish Canadian*, which it regarded as the worst enemy of the section it claimed to represent.³¹ Nevertheless, the Hibernian Society stubbornly refused to abandon its plans for a public procession.

When this became known, the civic authorities of Toronto fell into a state of panic. Their condition may be judged from a letter which the chief constable, Captain Prince, wrote to Macdonald—foretelling a demonstration by “thousands of these Fenians with Arms concealed” which could only result in riot and bloodshed, and hoping that the provincial government would act to prevent the procession.³² About the same time the governor-general received a letter from Bishop Lynch, urging that the procession should be forbidden by proclamation, and another from George Brown tending in the same direction. Lord Monck, however, informed Macdonald that he could see no sufficient grounds for such action—more particularly as the bishop had broadly hinted that, the Hibernians’ parade on St. Patrick’s day once well forbidden, it would be highly appropriate to treat the Orangemen in the same fashion on the twelfth of July.³³ Macdonald, too discreet to magnify Fenianism in the public mind by assenting to these suggestions,³⁴ must have seen, nevertheless, that unless some moderating influence could be brought to bear upon the curious situation in Toronto, a serious collision was only too probable; and he gave instructions accordingly.

In consequence, one of the government’s most useful servants appeared in Toronto on March 16. Gilbert McMicken’s official title was “stipendiary magistrate”; actually, he was chief of the frontier detective force in Canada West,³⁵ and a man in whom

³¹*Canadian freeman*, e.g., March 22, 1866.

³²Fenians, II, 164-5, March 8, 1866. Cf. McMicken reports, IV, 194-6, Prince to McMicken, March 9, 1866.

³³Macdonald papers, Governor-general’s correspondence, I, 132-5: Monck to Macdonald, “Wednesday morning” (presumably March 13, 1866).

³⁴Cf. McGee’s speech at Kingston, Sept. 6, 1866: “. . . there were not wanting influential persons, at a critical time, to urge the proclaiming of the city of Toronto . . .; but my hon. friend [Macdonald] resisted successfully that advice, and the event fully justified his judgment” (*Montreal Gazette*, Sept. 7, 1866).

³⁵First organized in 1864 to watch the operations of Confederate agents.

Macdonald reposed a well-founded confidence. He was better informed of the realities of the local situation than the fathers of the city, for the detective before referred to had written on March 10, "The Head. C. is afraid that if the Volunteers is allowed to go around town that day [March 17] with their arms, that there will be a row sure But if they are kept in quarters all will go right for they [the Hibernians] will not interfere with any one", and again on the 15th, "There will not be any danger of a row on the part of the Hibernians, but I am informed that there is a great Many Orangemen comming from the country to raise a row—that will be the only danger to be apprehended".³⁶ Thus McMicken knew that he was confronted with *two* badly frightened groups of people—the city government and the mass of the citizens on the one side, and the Hibernians on the other: and it was hard to say in which camp the panic was greater. The situation might have been comical; but fear is the mother of violence, and McMicken applied himself to the task of easing the tension.

He began by an act which seems to have occurred to none of the local authorities. He proceeded to Michael Murphy's house and asked that worthy point-blank what his intentions were for the morrow. Michael was glad to give him, writes McMicken to Macdonald on the 18th,³⁷

an assurance that no emblems or flags would be carried in the Procession but those that had been used by the society in former years at which no umbrage had been taken and that they were determined to keep the peace and for this end had men appointed whose duty it would be to pick up any of their own friends who might be drunk or disorderly and hand them immediately over to the Police—also that he would not use any improper language in his speech and would warn other speakers if any to be equally guarded—all this he made a show of having me believe was not from *fear* but from their own good will.

This McMicken reported to the mayor, Mr. F. H. Medcalf; but that official was not easily reassured. From his ideas, and those attributed to M. C. Cameron, another important local politician, Macdonald's agent "augured nothing for the morrow (17th) but violence and bloodshed". The recorder of the city was already helping him; now they sought further allies:

Failing to find Mr. Cameron Mr [Recorder] Duggan wrote a note to Mr Brown (the Hon Geo) telling him of the Mayors views and the necessity of having them corrected and as the Mayor was to meet Mr B. at the Globe office I went there and found Mr Cameron

³⁶McMicken reports, IV, 204, 253.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 284-9. Subsequent quotations are from the same report.

and Mr Allan (the Honble) Mr Metcalfe [*sic*] had not yet come. I told these gentlemen of my interview with Murphy the result of which seemed to relieve them of some apprehensions. The Mayor Capt Prince and the Sheriff soon joined us. After considerable conversation and discussion the Mayor yielded to better counsel and reason and agreed to remain in his Office as his Post of duty during the day. It was decided that no special constables should be sworn in and that every facility should be afforded to the procession without giving them any special notice—in fact to leave them alone and be [*sic*] as unnoticed as possible.

The next day was probably the most anxious seventeenth of March the city of Toronto has ever seen; but—thanks to the decisions taken in the conference at the *Globe* office—it was also, perhaps, the quietest. "Everything possible was done", McMicken told his chief, "to meet your views of having the day pass in peace & quietness, without in any measure or in any way yielding aught to the Fenians." From an early hour the whole force of nearly 2,000 volunteers were kept under arms in their drill-shed, where they were available in case of need and—more desirable still—incapable of creating disturbance. The latter thought does not seem to have occurred to the volunteers themselves, and the civic hospitality they received made the day enjoyable. In the regulars' barracks, the 47th and two batteries of Royal Artillery stood ready; while, with aquiline glance, the whole of Captain Prince's force patrolled the streets. But they found no work to do.

The Hibernians duly paraded—McMicken counted 532 of them.³⁸ Murphy addressed them; and though the *Globe* and *Leader* decided not to publish his speech, McMicken got their reporters' version of it for Macdonald's benefit. In the course of his remarks, Murphy repeated a statement he had previously made to the effect that Canada could furnish 40,000 men "as an invading army for Ireland"; but his words on local affairs demonstrate the awkward anomalies of Fenian political theory in Canada:

As I said before the Government of Canada is composed of good energetic men and I have no fault to find with them—yet if as some insinuate there might be a better imported from across the border that would be none of our business, we are not going to interfere—we are not interfering in this matter to-day at all, it is no business of ours.

³⁸On the other hand, Ogle R. Gowan, who was with McMicken at the time, says there were 584; the *Leader* says there were "by actual enumeration . . . 680 men and youths"; and the *Globe* assures us that the procession was "some 618 strong". The candid reader may take his choice.

It was a notable fact that on this occasion the Hibernian celebration was entirely without benefit of clergy.

With commendable restraint, the Orangemen avoided offering the paraders any provocation. An old Orange leader described the situation to Macdonald:

There was great excitement in the City, and a spark ignited might have set the whole combustible matter in a flame. Everything was done, (and I am pleased to say, successfully done,) by a few, to quiet the timid, keep back the ardent, and prevent interruption of any kind. The respectable Roman Catholics, (to their credit, I must say,) kept entirely aloof from the "Hibernians".³⁹

McMicken must have felt deep satisfaction at the complete success of his measures, which indeed seem models of sanity and discretion.

III

St. Patrick's day safely past, popular excitement died down; but the crisis in the affairs of Murphy was approaching. To begin with, Macdonald had instructed McMicken to do his utmost to get evidence which would make it possible to arrest and convict him. Four detectives went to work, but found it a difficult task. It was practically certain that Murphy was selling Fenian bonds, and that the Hibernian Society was contributing to the funds of O'Mahony's party in New York; but it seemed impossible to get legal proof.⁴⁰ In the meantime, the two Fenian factions in the United States were feverishly competing for the subscriptions of their fellow-countrymen; and it was perhaps the desire to make his appear the party of action that led O'Mahony in a weak moment to relax his declared policy so far as to allow one of his subordinates, B. D. Killian, to organize a demonstration, not, it is true, against the Province of Canada, but against the Province of New Brunswick.⁴¹ Confederation was not yet an accomplished fact; perhaps this was enough to salve Murphy's scruples concerning the invasion idea, or perhaps he felt it his duty to obey the orders of his chief in New York,—in any case, he and at least a few of his adherents were ready to participate in this attempt.

³⁹Fenians, II, 250: Ogle R. Gowan to Macdonald, March 19.

⁴⁰McMicken reports, IV, 72, 302, 311: "Erastus Burton" to McMicken on Hibernian contributions to New York, Jan. 20, 1866; McMicken to Macdonald, March 23 and 25. Macdonald's instructions were sent on March 15.

⁴¹On O'Mahony's reluctant assent, see *G*, vol. 180 A, 110, Archibald to Clarendon, April 17, 1866.

On the last day of March, romance walked into the life of a telegraph clerk in Toronto. He received a telegram in cypher from New York, addressed to one Cullen, an employé of the Toronto Savings Bank. In such times, a cypher message was naturally subject to suspicion; and the clerk took a copy of this one, and found no difficulty in decyphering it so far as to make clear its general sense—for it was in the very simplest sort of alphabetical cypher. He then saw before him something like this:

Trg gjragl fvatyr zra ernql sbe beqref ol ghrfql pubbfr
Get twenty single men ready for orders by tuesday choose

gevyyrq naq grzcrenapr zra vs lbh pna cnpx rdhvczragf naq
drilled and temperance men if you can pack equipments and

nzzhavgvba ernql sbe rkcerffvat jurer qverpgrq zra bg sbbybj
ammunition ready for expressing where directed men to follow

X
K[illian?]⁴²

This was, of course, reported to the authorities, and Macdonald apparently requested the chief constable of Toronto to keep close watch on Cullen and his associates. On April 7 Prince sent in a doleful enough report of his investigation. Cullen had lately been intimate with prominent members of the Hibernian Society, and was spending much time with Murphy; but the chief had not been able to secure sufficient information to warrant arrests. All his officers were well known to the Hibernians; what the situation required was a secret service fund which could be used for the employment of strangers. The criminals, he darkly hinted, had informers "*in a police force, as well as out of it*"; and he complained with special pathos of the assistance they received from "*cabmen of their class*". As matters stand, he concluded, "*the Police Authorities in Toronto are and have been wholly baffled*".⁴³

Already the newspapers were printing reports of the menace to Campobello Island in Passamaquoddy Bay, presented in the appearance of bodies of Fenians in the border towns of Maine; and on April 9 (hard on the heels, probably, of Prince's letter written two days before) Macdonald received telegraphic advice

⁴²This is from a "nearer interpretation" of the telegram, sent by the telegraph company to William McDougall on April 12 (Fenians, II, 393-4; cf. p. 332). The message seems to have been somewhat garbled in transmission, and even in this final version there are discrepancies, which have been corrected above. The *naïveté* of sending such a message, in so childish a cypher, over public wires at a time when Canadians were seeing Fenians behind every tree, is worthy of remark. See the operator's story (Leader, April 20).

⁴³Fenians, II, 396-403.

that Murphy and half a dozen of his supporters had boarded a train bound for Montreal, presumably with the intention of proceeding thence to Portland to join the invading host. Knowing that he had no adequate grounds for arresting them, he contented himself with telegraphing Colonel William Ermatinger, chief of detectives on the eastern frontier, to have "a confidential man" pick up the group at Montreal and shadow them to Portland, where he might be able to obtain evidence of an overt act which could be proved against them should they attempt to return to Canada.⁴⁴

This sensible design was, however, destined to frustration. News of the Murphy heira had also reached a group of cabinet ministers then in Montreal—Alexander Galt, minister of finance; George Etienne Cartier, attorney-general for Canada East; and a lesser luminary, H. L. Langevin. Here we see these eminent men in an unguarded moment. Probably they lack Macdonald's recent information on the facts of the situation; certainly they do not display the abundant discretion that goes so far to make "Old To-Morrow" the man he is. Putting their heads together, they decide to take it upon themselves to order Murphy's arrest. Apparently, however, they think it should not take place in Montreal. Cornwall, on the Grand Trunk some seventy miles to the westward, seems a suitable place; and the ministers speed thither, Cartier having telegraphed Dr. Allen, the mayor of the town, to meet him at the station. Allen does so, and is requested to arrest Murphy and his friends when their train arrives.⁴⁵

The chief magistrate of Cornwall rises to the occasion; this is to be no ordinary arrest. And on a sudden the streets are shocked into activity by the high clear note of a bugle sounding the assembly; the mayor has called out the entire force of volun-

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 358-9: Copy of telegram from Macdonald to Ermatinger at Montreal.

⁴⁵It is impossible to be certain of the details; but the *Macdonald papers* and the newspaper accounts seem to indicate this as the probable course of events. The three ministers named attended council at Ottawa on the morning of the same day, before leaving for Montreal (*Globe*, April 10); this renders improbable another story that they were travelling on the same train as Murphy. The story of Cartier's telegram to Allen is in *Globe*, April 11. Langevin seems to have been present throughout, but the responsibility rested with the senior ministers. It is not unlikely that Galt and Cartier knew Macdonald's wishes and ordered the arrests in spite of them. Macdonald's telegram to Ermatinger contains the sentence "See Mr. Cartier on arrival of train at Junction", which might indicate that Macdonald had been in communication with Cartier and knew of his presence at Cornwall. Macdonald telegraphed Brydges there describing his orders to Ermatinger; and the tone of Cartier's telegram to him after the arrests seems rather apologetic: "Murphy and five (5) others armed have been arrested here . . . after consultation between ourselves better done now than after waiting" (Fenians, II, 358-9, 366).

teers stationed at this frontier point. Splendid in the military whiskers of that day, they come running from their billets, looking to their long Enfields—two hundred of them. Can it be a raid?—for the United States is just across the St. Lawrence. Orders to take position at the railway station arouse speculation; and then the hour brings forth its own peculiar rumour. Two companies of her majesty's 47th Foot, stationed at Toronto, have mutinied and seized a train, and are travelling in comfort to assist in the attack on New Brunswick. At the prospect of facing regulars, newly fired with the fierce doctrines of Fenianism, pale faces appear here and there under the militia shakoes. If the newspapers' accounts are to be trusted, brave men think of making their wills; for the fighting reputation of the British army is high in these parts. Then comes authoritative truth; they are here to apprehend the redoubtable Head Centre of the Canadian Fenians—Mike Murphy himself.⁴⁶

Not, I think, without some twinkling does even the jaded eye of the muse of history, gazing across the years, perceive upon the station platform at Cornwall in that April twilight the worthy mayor. Conscious of the importance which destiny has thrust upon him, he waits to do his duty, with the excited volunteers about him; and imagination pictures, somewhere in the background, three anxious cabinet ministers, watching the development of events. The atmosphere is tense as we hear in the distance the whistle of the Kingston train.

Travelling on it with the Hibernians is C. J. Brydges, who (to the frequent scandal of the *Globe*) combines the office of managing director of the Grand Trunk with that of confidential political *aide de camp* to John A. Macdonald. As the train draws in, he alights. All must be done in order; he is to swear to the information which is to be the basis of the warrant.⁴⁷ Drawing the warrant takes time; but the resources of civilization are not easily exhausted. On the train are two companies of volunteers returning from frontier service, and their commander organizes among them a boisterous disturbance to afford a pretext for placing sentries at the doors of the coach in which Murphy's party are travelling. We are told that the Hibernians accepted the presence of the troops on the platform as merely a gesture of welcome to their comrades on the train; nevertheless, it is hard to believe that apprehension had not manifested itself in their minds before the

⁴⁶*Leader*, April 12.

⁴⁷Fenians, II, 389-91: Copy of his affidavit.

actual moment when the mayor appeared, strongly escorted, and called upon them to surrender to the queen's authority. They made no resistance, but allowed themselves to be ignominiously handcuffed and marched off to the local gaol. Murphy's companions seem to have been six in number; they must have felt that the display of force made for their benefit was no small compliment.⁴⁸ They were found to be armed with heavy revolvers, and other warlike material was found in their baggage.

Thus the deed was done. Now Cartier and Galt began, apparently, to wonder what Macdonald would say to their proceeding; and each telegraphed him on his own account.⁴⁹ "Considered absolutely necessary," wrote Galt; "they are armed and acting without doubt Portland Fenians." But they had placed Macdonald in an embarrassing situation. As attorney-general west, it would be his duty to direct the prosecution of the prisoners—and he knew he had only the thinnest of evidence on which to base a case. Nor could they now be released—for they had been arrested, not by some mere local Dogberry, but on the direct order of important members of the cabinet. The government's "face" was involved, and there was nothing for it but to make the best of the situation, and try to get up evidence enough to commit. It would be interesting to know what Macdonald said to his colleagues when next they met! That he was very angry cannot be doubted. He appears to have expressed himself in strong terms to the local crown attorney when that official came to consult him; and the attorney passed on his remarks to the mayor. The latter then indited to Macdonald a somewhat pathetic letter:

When the inhabitants of this town and myself undertook by direction of *two members of your government* the serious responsibility of arresting Michael Murphy and his associates in crime they did so under the full understanding of the large increase of danger and risk which they brought to their own firesides, but we shirked not our duty (or what we considered our duty) to secure our own safety and acted accordingly, I was therefore not a little surprised to hear through Mr. Pringle whom I have just seen our action meets not your approbation and that instead of commendation we receive censure, why I cannot say, as I did really think we were obliging

⁴⁸Cartier and Brydges in telegrams to Macdonald say Murphy had *five* men with him, but the newspapers seem to leave no doubt that there were six—all are named. Next day another man was taken off a train and lodged with the rest. All were residents of Toronto. Cullen—of the cypher message—was among them. Newspaper reports that other parties eluded police vigilance suggest the possibility that Murphy had mustered the full twenty volunteers for which that message called.

⁴⁹Fenians, II, 366-7.

not only you but each member of your government by acting as we did, I shall be therefore pleased by your informing me as soon as possible after receipt of this what we are to do in the matter. . . .⁵⁰

The consequence of this was a rebuke to Pringle for repeating communications made to him in official confidence. "The mistake, if mistake it is, was not made by Dr. Allen", Macdonald wrote him; and he showed his feelings further by suggesting that, as Cartier had ordered the arrests, further instructions in the case should come from him. The mayor received a tactful letter from Macdonald, and additional troops were sent to Cornwall to reassure its citizens.⁵¹

The detectives fell to work. In Toronto, the secretary of the Hibernian Society was arrested and sent to Cornwall—where a whole company of volunteers was paraded to meet his train;⁵² but an examination of the society's papers indicated that news of the arrests had arrived in time to permit the destruction of any incriminating material.⁵³ Every effort was made to obtain information identifying the Hibernians with Fenianism. The authorities even had recourse to the doubtful expedient of imprisoning with Murphy and his men, as an alleged Fenian, an informer, one Wheeler, hoping that he might draw from them incriminating admissions. It is hard to be sorry that he completely failed.⁵⁴

The prisoners were examined at Cornwall by a bench of local magistrates presided over by a county court judge. Various small bits of evidence were successively marshalled against them, the crown obtaining remand after remand. Much was made of the cypher message. A number of witnesses testified vaguely concerning Murphy's activities; and after a time the police obtained, apparently in Hamilton, the Fenian membership certificate, signed by Murphy and by Moriarty (also among the prisoners) already referred to.⁵⁵ Finally, on May 2, the whole of the prisoners were committed for trial—the presiding judge's objection to the committal of Sheedy, the Hibernian secretary, being overruled. The prosecution had passed one hurdle; but

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 361, April 10, 1866.

⁵¹Private letter book, IX, 163, to Allen, April 11; p. 165, to Pringle, same date; on troops see Fenians, II, 381.

⁵²*Leader*, April 14.

⁵³McMicken reports, IV, 454; McMicken to Macdonald, April 18, 1866.

⁵⁴Fenians, III, 952-4, Monck to Macdonald, Sept. 13, 1866, referring to this in retrospect; *ibid.*, II, 455; *Leader*, May 3.

⁵⁵McMicken reports, IV, 454-60; McMicken to Macdonald, April 18. (The Hibernian organization seems to have had a number of branches in the districts of Upper Canada adjacent to Toronto.) See also *Leader*, April 20, 26, 30.

the crown's counsel by no means anticipated that at the assizes the evidence would be sufficient to convict them of the charge of treason which had been preferred against them.⁵⁶

In the meantime Killian's enterprise in Maine had fizzled out to nothing; and while the Hibernians languished in gaol the Roberts faction feverishly prepared a counter-demonstration. Towards the end of May, Murphy's counsel made application in the Court of Common Pleas for a writ of *habeas corpus*. The court granted a rule *nisi* calling upon the committing justices and the attorney-general to show cause why the writ should not issue—this being the procedure appropriate to a charge of treason.⁵⁷ Then came John O'Neill's raid at Fort Erie, and threats against other border points. The bloodshed of Ridgeway crowded the Murphy case out of the newspapers for a few days; but the reasons advanced by the authorities satisfied the court, for Michael and his friends remained in custody.

IV

Amid all the activity of that summer, Macdonald and his legal assistants must have found time to worry occasionally over the criticism that would ensue when the Murphy party were (as seemed inevitable) acquitted at the autumn assizes. But before those assizes came on, fate showed both parties—very literally—the way out. On September 3 the people of Canada learned from their morning newspapers that Murphy and five of his companions had escaped from Cornwall gaol the previous night, getting clear away to American soil. They had raised a plank in one of the passages, and dug their way under the wall of the prison, a very primitive building. Thereafter, they had only to scale a wooden fence and make for the river, where they stole a boat (or, rather, borrowed it—for Murphy arranged for its return) and crossed safely to the American side. The escape was made during a severe thunderstorm, and though a sentry's beat lay close to the point where the tunnel emerged, he was assumed to have been taking shelter in his box at the time. The *Leader* remarked:

The work of digging the passage must have been going on for some time, yet strange to say it totally escaped the observation of the jail officials, as well as the flight of the prisoners escaped that of the

⁵⁶Fenians, II, 457, 507, J. F. Pringle to Macdonald, April 20 and May 5; *Leader*, May 3.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, May 26, 28.

military sentries posted around the building. These are singular circumstances, but we trust they may be explained on the ground of a lack of vigilance rather than of a feeling of sympathy with Murphy and his gang.⁵⁸

Singular circumstances indeed. Considering the embarrassment from which the escape relieved the government, some persons might almost wonder whether a hint had not been passed to the guards that for once negligence would serve the national interest better than vigilance! It is certain, at any rate, that the government regarded the escape of this group of political prisoners with deep satisfaction. On hearing the news, the governor general wrote to Macdonald: "The escape of Mike Murphy & Co. is very unfortunate. I think a strict investigation should be made at Cornwall with respect to the manner in which it was effected."⁵⁹ Then apparently Macdonald explained the true state of affairs; for Lord Monck later wrote: "If there was not sufficient evidence in Murphy's case to warrant a conviction his escape is very fortunate, as his acquittal would have involved the right to remain in Canada where he would probably do mischief instead of being in the United States where he appears to be exerting a beneficial influence."⁶⁰ One of Murphy's earliest acts on reaching American territory had been to denounce the Roberts Fenians and to declare the Canadian brethren "decidedly opposed to an invasion of Canada".⁶¹

Once under the eagle's wing, Murphy's fellows scattered and were soon lost to view. Moriarty was an exception. Undaunted by his prison experiences, he continued his career as an agitator. In the following December he went to Ireland, only to fall into the hands of the Irish police in February, and subsequently to be sentenced to ten years' penal servitude. This Moriarty is credited by a Fenian writer with having been "the first organizer of Fenianism in Canada".⁶² He was certainly one of the most active of the Toronto group as early as 1863.⁶³

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1866. The issue of September 7 contains what purports to be the prisoners' story of their escape, as told at Buffalo. They claimed to have had the hole under the wall ready for a month, awaiting a suitable night.

⁵⁹Governor-general's correspondence, I, 192-9.

⁶⁰Fenians, III, 957-60: Monck to Macdonald, Sept. 18, 1866, "Private".

⁶¹*New York tribune*, Sept. 6, 1866.

⁶²John Savage, *Fenian heroes and martyrs* (Boston, 1868), 209-17. Savage notes, "he was arrested, with that sturdy nationalist, Mr. Michael Murphy, and others, when on his way to join the armed Fenians at Campo Bello".

⁶³McMicken reports, IV, 454-60. A packet of cards countersigned by O'Mahony arrived for him in September of that year and were held for duty in the customs house at Toronto, but never called for.

The Canadian government was a trifle embarrassed by the fact that three of the prisoners had not escaped, but were still on their hands at Cornwall. But these were small fry, in whom, fortunately, the public felt little interest. At the October assizes, the crown moved for a writ to take these men to Toronto for trial; at the same time it was able to demand a sentence of outlawry against Murphy and the others who had, supposedly, cheated justice by escaping. The prisoners reached Toronto, only to be speedily admitted to bail with the explanation, "the evidence against them is considered slight".⁶⁴ It seems highly improbable that the government ever showed any disposition to carry the matter further.

Murphy, not daring to return to Canada, proceeded to Buffalo. Soon after his arrival there, the Toronto Hibernians took advantage of his proximity by making a mass excursion across the lake to do him honour. Later he opened a tavern in Buffalo; but if we can believe the *Globe*, "the place was shunned by the Buffalo Fenian Brotherhood, who harboured a lurking suspicion that he was released on condition of turning a spy". In any case Buffalo was a stronghold of the Roberts party; and we have it from the *Globe* also that Murphy regretted his exclusion from Canada, and continued to the end of his life to oppose any attack upon that country.⁶⁵ The Hibernian Benevolent Society continued to exist, perhaps a little chastened, for after 1866 the centre of gravity of Canadian Fenianism seems to shift to Montreal.⁶⁶ Patrick Boyle of the *Irish Canadian* replaced Murphy as president, but the society continued to look with reverence to the man in Buffalo. He did not live long to enjoy their respect, however. At the St. Patrick's celebration of 1868, Boyle—who was himself to see the inside of a prison that summer⁶⁷—spoke words of regret for the fact that "our old President, as sound a patriot as ever

⁶⁴*Globe*, 1866, Oct. 30, Nov. 2, 16; *Leader*, Nov. 17. Cf. Private letter book, IX, 325, Macdonald to R. A. Harrison, Oct. 13, 1866.

⁶⁵*Globe*, April 13, 1868. For the excursion story, see *Leader*, Sept. 12, 1866.

⁶⁶In 1866, McGee claimed that Fenianism in Canada existed only in Toronto (*The Irish position*, 15-6); but the bitter opposition which he himself encountered in the two remaining years of his life showed its strength in Montreal. In 1872, when the movement was dying out, Lord Lisgar remarked that Fenianism "with the exception of the City of Montreal . . . has always been considered weak throughout Canada" (Public Archives of Canada, *G, Confidential despatches, 1867-1873*; Lisgar to Kimberley, Jan. 11, 1872, "Confidential"). Irish agitation in Montreal had in fact engaged the attention of the authorities as early as 1859 (*G*, vol. 159, p. 240: Lytton to Head, Feb. 11, 1859, with enclosures.)

⁶⁷He was one of a number of suspects rounded up by McMicken in the first week of May. He was released in August (*Leader*, May 6, 1868; *New York Times*, Aug. 11, 1868).

breathed the breath of life, is not with us—is on his death-bed"; and on April 11 poor Murphy died in Buffalo of consumption.⁶⁸

Less than a week earlier, the Irish-Canadian statesman Thomas D'Arcy McGee, the champion of political and social union, the ex-rebel who had not feared to place himself in the front of the fight as the arch-enemy of Fenianism, had fallen a victim to a wretched Fenian assassin. Murphy's body was brought to Toronto, but feeling in Canada was running too high to allow a public funeral by the Hibernian Society to be attempted with safety, and the mayor forbade it. Almost on the same day the parliamentarian and the humble agitator were buried—the one amid the ceremonial mourning of the new nation which he had done so much to create, the other regretted only by a group of suspects and outcasts.⁶⁹ Time has further pointed the contrast, for Murphy, always obscure, was soon entirely forgotten, whereas we are still learning to appreciate the great qualities of D'Arcy McGee.

At this late date, however, we can surely afford to be a little sorry for Michael Murphy. He was the symbol of an evil situation which time has done much to remedy—that created by the migration of Irish political and religious antagonisms to British America. Canada was fortunate that this unhealthy atmosphere did not bring her more serious difficulties than those arising from the activities of the Hibernian Society. And Murphy, dimly as he appears to us, seems a manlier type than some more prominent figures in the curious chronicles of Fenianism and Canadian faction,—ignorant and misguided, perhaps, but also courageous and sincere. It required more hardihood to organize conspiracy in Toronto, even on a very small scale, than to float unnumbered "Irish Republics" in the sympathetic air of Manhattan; and Murphy thought that in doing so he was striking a blow for Ireland and human freedom. Save for the foolish and abortive gesture at the time of the Campobello fiasco, there seems no very good reason for accounting him an enemy of British institutions in Canada; and we can at least be grateful to him for supplying the raw material of one of the most amusing bits of political comedy played in the provinces in the era of Confederation.

C. P. STACEY

⁶⁸*Globe*, March 18, 1868; April 13, 1868.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, April 14 and 18, 1868.

A LAYMAN'S VIEW ON THE TEACHING OF HISTORY

FOR one who has never taught a class in history, and who has no more than a smattering of historical facts at his command, it needs more than common temerity to put forward views on the purpose and method of studying the subject in the schools. One has only to consider, however, the results of the present system to find ample warrant for its criticism even by a layman. The pupil of to-day leaves school with but a meagre return for the time and effort expended in historical studies. He has a sketchy notion of the political and social history of his own country, and an even more inadequate idea of world-history. His knowledge may have some interest as a narrative, but what is its precise value, either cultural, philosophical, or practical? Does it really make him a better citizen or help him to solve the common problems of life? What general ideas of universal value has he absorbed?

There is little evidence that the average citizen ever examines a social or economic problem from the historical point of view. To him "history" still means the remote or indefinite past—a realm inhabited by people whose costume, sometimes picturesque, sometimes merely ridiculous, was appropriate to their singular and often inexplicable conduct. In his mind such a realm is (not unnaturally) divorced from the reality of the present day. When Mr. Henry Ford said that history was "mostly bunk" he displayed the common fault of our teaching of history—a failure to make clear the unity of the past and the present.

Judged by the test of interest, the results are no less disappointing. Very few pupils leave school with any fondness for historical reading, or ability to cultivate the taste with intelligence if they have it. It is true that of late years there has been a popular demand for certain types of history and biography, a movement begun by Mr. Wells's *Outline* and Mr. Lytton Strachey's *Queen Victoria*. This movement, however, owed nothing to the schools; it arose from post-War attitudes, and its chief effect on the schools seems to be a stimulation of interest in world-history.

These observations do not imply any inefficiency on the part of the teaching body. Both in professional skill and in technical apparatus the teachers are better equipped than they were even ten years ago. The actual teaching is, probably, on the average

better than we have any right to expect. If the results are disappointing the fault must lie deeper. It may be in the content of the subject, or in the type of text-book in use, or in the method of approach.

At the beginning of any examination of the problem, we are confronted with the questions, What is history?, and Why do we study it? In its widest sense, history is the totality of facts, known and unknown, relating to the story of mankind. The history taught in school is necessarily a very small part of so vast a field of knowledge, inference, and conjecture. The choice of material is naturally governed by the purpose in view. Where purposes are defined, they seem often to be concerned with the stimulating of patriotism or the inculcation of principles of citizenship. The narrowly patriotic plea for teaching history is perhaps the least satisfactory that could be advanced. It has been responsible, through text-books written in the spirit of "My country, right or wrong", for untold hatred, falsehood, and ignorance. We all have a natural tendency to prefer our own nation to any other; why, then, is it necessary to stimulate national prejudices? Patriotism of the right kind, which we all wish to see developed, cannot in the long run rest on the suppression or distortion of facts. The theory that history should be studied so as to inculcate sound ideas of citizenship is excellent so far as it goes. As at present interpreted, however, it is apt to be rather narrowly national in outlook and to stress too much the machinery of government and political affairs.

Before discussing any other purposes, let us examine more closely the elements of the problem, and this can perhaps best be done by suggesting a few axioms. They are so simple as to be truisms, if not platitudes, but no apology is made for restating them, because they necessarily form the bed-rock of our argument.

"To-day is history",—a truism so obvious that it obscures the importance of its logical consequences. The student cannot too often be reminded that every event, object, and institution of to-day has its roots in the past, immediate or remote. Conversely, everything he learns of the past has some bearing on the present and, therefore, on the future.

"Everything has a history." Although we necessarily study only a single phase or period at a time, history is universal, and the characteristics and purpose of every institution in human life may be studied historically.

"History never stops." Despite all wars, revolutions, epi-

demics, and migrations, unbroken generations of men connect us with the oldest known civilizations. This needs emphasis in order to counteract the tendency to think of history in separate water-tight compartments, or periods.

"We never know all the facts." Not only are all known facts beyond the grasp of any single mind, but large tracts of history are both unknown and unknowable. Still larger tracts can be known only in part—the evidence is doubtful and fragmentary. This is commonly ignored by writers of elementary text-books, who find it easier to adopt a dogmatic method.

"The whole is greater than the part,"—or, in terms of history, what we are studying is only a single aspect or a relatively small portion of the complete picture. The traditional idea of history was the record of dynasties and governments, of public events such as wars, political struggles, legislation, and the quarrels of religious sects. Of late years more attention has been paid to the social and economic life of the common man, and to the study of world-history rather than the narrowly national type. Whatever may be the chosen field of study, its relation to the other fields and to the whole picture needs to be constantly borne in mind.

"Everything has a cause." Granted that the causes of historical events are frequently matters of conjecture, there is no reason why even the youngest pupils should not be encouraged to trace cause and effect in human affairs wherever possible, and to look for them always. While personal motives can usually be only inferred, the consequences of action are often matters of record. We cannot begin too soon to emphasize the truth that human action has social consequences extending indefinitely in time and space.

Since these axioms or truisms are of universal application, it follows that whatever special field or department of history we may choose to study, our methods should be so devised that they are constantly applied and illustrated. They are not merely so many tags to be learned by rote, but the fundamental principles on which our study should be based. Their truth should be so frequently demonstrated that they become part of the mental habit. Does not this combination of basic assumptions form a pattern which points clearly to our objective? If the study of history has any purpose, surely it must be to extend our consciousness in terms of time, and this not by the mechanical memorizing of facts but by a logical process of thought.

Accepting, then, the general definition of history as conscious-

ness of the world in terms of time, we have to remember that this means more than a sense of the mere duration of recorded human events. It is a question of the kind of events, their causation and the ideas behind them. Furthermore it is their relation to the present which is all important. Our aim is essentially a practical one. We scan the past in order to see the present more clearly, and so to get some inkling of what we may hope or fear from the future. Unless our study of history has this in view it is a mere ploughing of the sands.

It may be objected that a life-time of study would not suffice for such an ambitious aim; that to expect anything like its achievement in the brief course of an elementary education is out of the question. Our answer is that complete attainment in education is always beyond our grasp; the only success we can hope for is to set the feet of the student on the right path, to give him a training in solving problems for himself. Success is to be measured not by the ability to absorb information, but by the ability to interpret. Even if all this is granted, the question yet remains, what is the best selection and grouping for our purpose of the countless facts of history? What is to be the content of the story we are to impart?

Ideally the content of the average course of study and textbook might be very different from what it is, that is, for the most part, a chronicle of public events. We need not wait, however, until new courses and text-books are provided in complete form. Within the framework of the existing organization much improvement might be made and different methods might be adopted which would at least initiate a movement towards the ideal we have set ourselves. Some description of methods will be given in greater detail at a later stage, but they may be said briefly to include, first, a more objective approach to the study of history in its initial stages; second, a series of exercises, projects, and problems designed (i) to make the rôle of the pupil more active and constructive by forcing him to think, compare, and generalize for himself; (ii) to bring home to his understanding the six axioms of history set out above.

Before suggesting a possible course of study it is desirable to consider the attitude of the child towards the past. At an early age he listens to stories beginning "Once upon a time" or "Long ago", from which he acquires the idea of a far distant and very indefinite past. Whether these stories are fairy tales or are related to Biblical characters, the Romans, King Arthur, or Robin Hood

makes no difference in the manner of their acceptance. To the child they all belong to a misty but very real past. He can have only the faintest sense of any chronological sequence, beyond the events of his own experience. Beginning from this point, the teacher's problem is to extend gradually the pupil's sense of past time, so as to give a coherent and logical picture of how the present was evolved. This brings us directly face to face with a question of method. Are we to extend the pupil's idea of past time gradually and progressively backwards from the present?—which means relating history backwards!—or are we to take some arbitrary starting point in the past, or perhaps a series of starting points at consecutively later periods? The first-named method is the strictly logical one, and equally, of course, quite impossible. We cannot tell a consecutive story backwards. Moreover, causation, to which we wish to attach so much importance, can best be shown in a forward-moving narrative. We are, therefore, driven to the adoption of the second or third method: (a) one arbitrary starting point for the whole of world-history, or (b) a series of starting points chosen at times and places which appear expedient.

The classical example of the first of these two methods is the Book of Genesis, a wonderful piece of historical narrative which, however, is not to-day the best possible introduction to world-history. Our choice, then, seems to be limited to (b),—a series of starting points chosen in the light of convenience and experience. A generation ago the common starting point of English school histories was the ancient Britons. The curtain went up and Julius Caesar made his impressive entrance with unfailing regularity. In North America the usual starting point is Christopher Columbus or Jacques Cartier. The fact is that any of the conventional starting points, whether placed in remote antiquity or in the middle ages is unsuitable. Even the recent past is getting increasingly incomprehensible to a modern child. The past twenty-five years have seen the conditions of life profoundly changed by the common use of aeroplanes, motor cars, radio, wireless telegraphy, telephones, farm machinery, and innumerable other products of science and invention. Extend the time-span another fifty years and the changes are no less revolutionary. Surely it is putting something of a strain on the imagination to ask that the young pupil envisage a world totally different in appearance from anything he has seen, inhabited by people dressed in a way beyond his imagining and speaking a language, which if it

was English was not an English he could understand. Why not begin in the world of here and now?

Let us recall our first axiom "To-day is history"—and the sound educational maxim of proceeding from the known to the unknown. We may take a hint also from the established method in geography, which beginning with "Here" proceeds by ever-widening circles to reveal a picture of the world at large. The analogy, indeed, is well nigh perfect: geography aims to make the student conscious of the world in terms of space; history aims to achieve the same result in terms of time. A start may be made early in the school-life. Whether or not the early lessons are called history does not matter. As a beginning the pupil may be asked to write his autobiography as far as he can remember it. Of course it will be only a chronological skeleton of striking events in his experience, but the importance of chronology and sequence may be made clear and emphasized. This may be followed by an enumeration of important public events, either local or national that the child can remember. These topics with their variations cover a very definite period, limited by the memory of the child.

Before attempting a wider span an attempt should be made to explain, in some such simple terms as follows, the nature and scope of history: "What you have written are stories, but they are not like stories in a book, which are made up. They are *true* stories of things that really happened. Stories of this kind are called history. Ordinary stories have an end but history has no end; it is going on to-day all round us. It is the story of the world and all the people in it right from the beginning, and it will only end when the world ends. Everything has a history and we shall consider the history of a number of things and people that you know."

At this stage the pupil's conception of time will probably include (a) an indefinite period known as "long ago", (b) a fairly definite chronological idea of his own life-story. The problem now is to extend the sense of time beyond the pupil's memory by some convenient and practicable span, leaving for the present to take care of themselves the myths, legends, or historical narratives that he may read or hear.

Beyond a child's own memory the easiest and best time-span is the period known as "When father and mother were little"—which on the average may be taken as thirty years before. By the questioning of parents, by the use of pictures or other bits of evidence the class may construct a mental picture of the com-

munity as it was a generation ago. Mechanical invention offers an attractive field, and the emphasis will doubtless be on the external evidences of change in the community.

At this point questions in local history of the past generation will naturally emerge. What events of importance occurred? What new buildings were put up in the period? What changes were there in population? It might be expedient here to attempt the history of a building, and for a beginning there is none better than the school-building itself. No doubt in many cases the story is brief, and its details meagre but it serves the purpose of leading the pupil's imagination from the concrete and the present to the not very remote past. The value of this and similar problems lies not at all in the information gathered, but in the mental effort of facing the question.

At one point or another these investigations will probably have led to a period earlier than the original limit of the survey, "When father and mother were little". If so that point serves as a natural step to the next stage, "When grandfather was a little boy". It might be helpful now to make a simple time-chart illustrating the overlapping of the different generations. Vertical lines represent each of the past fifty or sixty years, and horizontal lines are drawn to show the life-span of real or imaginary people, including a few of considerable age—the grandparents. The lines for some of these, assuming them to be deceased, will not be continued to the present year. With the aid of such a chart, it is easy now to explain what is meant by "a generation", and how it means roughly thirty years, giving us about three to a century.

This illustrates in a graphic way our dependence for a knowledge of history on our forefathers, a fact which cannot be grasped too soon. This knowledge, it should be pointed out comes in various ways: by word of mouth; by writings like letters, diaries, account books, and other records; by printed documents, like newspapers, books, placards, government forms, songs, handbills, banknotes; by pictures, sketches, plans, coins, statues, buildings, roads, furniture, clothing, tools, utensils, and so forth.

As a next step, the attempt may be made to study the community as it was two generations ago. The mechanical inventions again provide a good approach, and the contrasts with the present will appear much more striking than they were in studying the conditions of the last generation. Local history now gives us a much wider scope, and might be treated with fuller detail. It

should be limited, however, for reasons which will appear, to the last two generations.

Our preliminary aims should now be achieved: (i) to establish the idea that we to-day are part of history; (ii) to give the pupil a fairly accurate sense of time over some sixty years; (iii) to illustrate the overlapping of one generation with another. On this foundation we can now begin to build, and the first stage would comprise a wider span both in time and space than our strictly local history has so far envisaged. For this purpose the methods and devices already suggested may be extended to the wider field. Many themes such as the following will suggest themselves: the history of the village or town and of neighbouring places; of local buildings or institutions, such as churches, banks, schools; of local industries, such as farming, fishing, lumbering; of local means of transportation, roads, bridges, ferries, and so forth. It matters little or nothing whether printed material is available on these topics. Perhaps the less the better. The aim should be to make the pupils themselves compile a brief local history;¹ and that moreover only as a means to an end. The real aim is to make them think historically of their own familiar surroundings, and to realize the continuous stream of human effort that has made, and is still making, the community they know. There is no need to rely on the printed page. Every building, even the newest, is an historical exhibit. Although expert knowledge may be needed to read its age with accuracy, even a young pupil can soon get something of a building's historic content. The point is he should be taught to look for it. If he looks with interest he will soon find history all around him. In the more populous centres there is plenty of suitable material in public and private libraries, picture galleries, and newspaper offices. In smaller and remote places where these facilities are meagre or non-existent, compensation may be found in the fact that the "old-timers" are well-known and generally accessible. As a rule they will be only too delighted to tell the younger generation what they know, and perhaps a good deal more! Then there is often a local historical society, whose co-operation might be enlisted.

It matters not how short or how long the history of a place

¹The collecting of information may be stimulated by numerous questions such as: Is there a charter of incorporation? When was it granted? What is the population of the community now? What was it twenty years ago? sixty years ago? What are the names of the public buildings? When were they built? When did the railway come? When were the newspapers established? Have files or early issues been preserved? Are any early pictures preserved?

may be, whether the data available are scanty or copious, the important thing is that the pupils should be set on to find them out as much as possible for themselves, and to project their imaginations backwards in time. Then with a sufficiency of appropriate facts before him each pupil will write a simple narrative. The result will vary not merely according to the aptitude of the pupil but even more according to the locality. A remote settlement on the prairie will evidently yield a very different result from that of an old and populous city rich in historical associations. That difference is unimportant. The aim is to teach a mental habit rather than to impart information. Not until we look our surroundings in the face and ask their origin have we begun to know what history means.

Similar methods to those suggested above might be applied to the study of the local industries and trades, the churches, agriculture, roads and bridges, transportation, and so forth. The difficulty of getting precise dates need not disturb us. If nothing can be found, "not known" is the only answer. Such evidence as "at least twenty years ago" is often all we need. In a rural school, the history of local agriculture is an inevitable and valuable study. Numerous questions will suggest themselves,² of which clearly no school-class could be expected to answer more than a small proportion even by endless questioning of their elders or by scanning of country histories. It cannot be too much emphasized that the aim is not an exhaustive treatise, the details of which would defeat our purpose and take up an inordinate amount of time. The questions in themselves, whatever may be the topic, should be interesting and significant; and they should in the long run bring out two of our axioms, that everything has a history—any human activity, occupation, or institution has a history of its own, which forms a single thread in the complete pattern; and the counterpart of this truism—that history as a whole is the sum total or complete pattern of innumerable personal activities.

Such themes as the above, though with an outlook limited by the range of the pupils' daily journeys, will present from time to time features that point directly to the larger unit of provincial

²Such as: What sort of farms are there in the neighbourhood? Were they always of that type or types? When and why have changes occurred? What was the state of the land when the first settlers came? Where was the land first cleared? Why was this particular place chosen? When were horses, cattle, sheep first introduced? When were the orchards, if any, planted? Are any descendants of the early settlers still in the neighbourhood? If so what are their occupations? When were mechanical reapers and binders introduced? And when motor-tractors? Was threshing ever done locally by horse-power, or by hand?

or regional history, *e.g.*, the Pacific coast, the prairie, the St. Lawrence valley and Ontario, or the Atlantic seaboard. This regional study would naturally begin with the first arrival of white settlers, so that in some parts of Canada, such as the Atlantic seaboard and the St. Lawrence valley, the regional study coincides with the beginning of the national story. In other parts, such as Ontario, the prairie, and the Pacific coast, where white settlement occurred at a later date than the beginning of a recorded Canadian history, the regional study may be used as a step to the national. Whether or not this is done, or precisely how it is done, does not affect our present purpose. Regional history either as a separate unit of study, or as a part of a larger unit forms part of the course in most of the Canadian schools. Whether we begin it at a convenient and arbitrary date such as the arrival of the first explorers, or whether we work outwards from our own neighbourhood and backwards from the present is a question of expediency and makes no difference in the application of our method. The latter alternative has the advantage of keeping the focus of interest closer to the pupil's environment; the longer his studies can be kept objective and concrete the keener will be his sense of the reality of history.

On the larger field of regional history projects similar to those suggested above can be worked out in so far as they are desirable. Railways would form a useful and manageable problem on the regional basis, or transportation in general might be studied with such questions as—How did the first white man arrive, on foot, on horseback, by canoe, cart, or sailing-ship? What were the first roads? When did stage coaches, boats, or steamship lines make their appearance?

In Canada the units of regional history, the Maritime Provinces, New France, Ontario, the prairies, and the Pacific coast, correspond very closely to the five natural geographical units, and full advantage should be taken of the fact. This can best be done by relating every step of the story to the topography of the regions. Sketch maps should be made illustrating the first settlements and the spread of population, the routes of explorers, development of roads, erection of mills, and so forth. Printed or mimeographed key maps could be used in order to save time, and the maps should indicate progress at convenient intervals of time. No matter how scanty may be the number of facts, they are all the better apprehended by being put into graphic form. There are few countries whose history has been so clearly moulded by

its geography as Canada. From the day of the redskin, river and rapid, forest, mountain, and soil have laid down the lines of human habitation and occupation. Without maps, and good ones, Canadian history is unintelligible.

When the span of study is extended to the national field it will be found that a great deal of the work has already been done. It remains to bridge the interval—if any—between the first white settlement of the region and the arrival of Jacques Cartier, which is the conventional starting point of Canadian history. Since this interval varies more or less in the different geographical regions, it is evident that somewhat different methods of bridging the gap may be necessary in the respective localities. Once the gap is bridged, we are faced with the same situation, namely the impact of the white man and the Indians. This makes natural, and indeed necessary, a fairly complete study of the Indian tribes as a whole. They will already have received some attention in the local and regional history, but should now be studied throughout the continent so far as is necessary for the purposes of Canadian history.

This branch of history has undoubtedly been treated in too summary a manner in Canadian schools. Apart from warfare the influence of the Indians on white settlement has been almost ignored, and little has been said of what the early explorers and settlers owed to the redskin in guidance and instruction. He led the explorers through the wilderness; taught them woodcraft, trapping, and hunting; showed them how to make and use snowshoes and canoes, how to avoid scurvy and to live during the winter in the open. It is an interesting speculation how long it would have taken the white man to find these things out for himself. Modern tendencies in the teaching of history recognize the great importance of the study of primitive man, and we may expect an increasing emphasis on the study of Red Indian culture and craftsmanship.

The methods already outlined may readily be adapted and extended to the national field. They can be used either concurrently with the unfolding of the consecutive narrative, or as a form of review work. Special care will, of course, be taken to link up the knowledge already gained in the regional history with the national story. Opportunities for useful comparison are numerous: the pack-horse of the Rockies with the York and Durham boats, or with the canoe in its various forms. Similarly the difference between lumbering methods in British Columbia, the

Ottawa valley, and the Maritime Provinces tells a fascinating story. Equally striking is the contrast in the development of agriculture in different parts of Canada, both as to speed and as to type.

At every step of the Canadian narrative the pupil is reminded of the existence of Europe, and especially of France and England. Here, then, the next logical step is indicated, namely the history of either of these two countries. The natural tendency in Canada is to teach British and European history as a separate story unconnected with Canadian history at least until the day of Columbus, and then to stress only the direct and obvious connection of such events as the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution. It would be better to err, if at all, in the opposite direction. Even where Europe had no direct effect on Canada, as before the discovery of America, interesting similarities or contrasts may be found. The relations of Roman and ancient Britons at once suggest those of white man and redskin. When we come to the Viking age the connection is quite direct in Leif Ericson. A point of vital importance is, of course, the impact of European civilization on the Indian—a situation so dramatic that it cannot fail to impress. Doubtless it belongs rather to Canadian than to European history, but even a list of some of the things brought by the white man is at least a partial inventory of western civilization. The compilation of such a list need not be beyond the capacity of an elementary class: Christianity, fire arms, the use of metals, printing, centralized government, alcohol, improved methods for cloth and pottery-making, the wheeled vehicle, glass, horses and cattle, private ownership of land, and so forth.

What a contrast is here suggested between two states of civilization and what a wealth of material is offered for the stimulation of thought and expression! To what degree these contrasts, similarities, and connections between European and Canadian history should be worked out, will depend, of course, on the relative maturity of the pupils and the skill of the teacher. At certain points, such as the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution the connection is inescapable and in a sense mechanical. At other points where the influence is through the spread of new ideas, as in the reform movement of the 1830's, it will be less apparent to young students. Elementary Canadian text-books of history have killed the interest of their readers by an over-emphasis on such matters as the difference between representative and responsible government—vitally important no doubt in their

proper place, but the young Canadian has them dinned into his ears too early and too often.

The undue emphasis on such difficult and even abstract ideas should be offset by a greater attention to topics where direct and concrete influences are more easily discernible. The steamship and the railway demonstrate to the immature student much more dramatically than any set of political ideas how the history of one country is interwoven with that of another. The same is true of exploration, a field of the first importance. With North American exploration the pupils are already familiar; it is now a question of correlating this knowledge with the story of exploration in other parts of the world, so that the picture presents a coherent whole. The vital thing is to show the common urge (arising from very diverse motives) that actuated all journeys of exploration. In this field the causative element is more evident than in many others. The difficulty is not to find interesting material, but to keep the projects within manageable bounds. There is an abundance of pictorial material in readily available books and magazines, and this approach is one that admirably brings out the relation of history to the present day. It shows history in the making; we are no longer dealing with "dead forgotten far-off things" but the activities of wayfaring men that lead right up to our daily life.

After European history the next conventional unit of study is either world-history or ancient history. For our present purpose it matters little from what point of view world-history is studied. The problem is to use the world background and a time-span reaching back to the first recorded events in order to develop the ideas and the mental habits already described, with due attention to the relationship of Canadian and world-history. But we also have a special aim, which could not expediently be pursued at an earlier stage. Assuming that the pupils are now of a sufficiently ripe intelligence, we can develop the crowning thesis of history-teaching: namely, that in the last analysis all history is really the history of ideas, that what men know and believe is the mainspring of what they do.

How this thought is to be insinuated into the pupil's mind is matter for the teacher's art. The problem calls for suggestion rather than for dogmatic statement. It should not be very difficult to induce the student to discover this truth for himself. After all, no one can thoughtfully contemplate many of the great events of history, its heroic characters or revolutionary move-

ments, without beginning at least to suspect that their power sprang not from any commonplace human motive, but from some overmastering idea whose novelty or beauty or truth had captivated the imagination of the period. Whether these ideas are right or wrong is beside the point; our task is to discover what they were and to estimate their potency.

It is not to be expected that the pupils in their first studies of world-history will be ready to take a very wide view of the canvas put before them. The history of thought, the development of abstract ideas involve subtleties too difficult for immature students. A beginning must be made simply and cautiously. At first, in fact, an extension in time and space of earlier themes would suffice, *e.g.*, exploration, shipping, communication, transport, agriculture, and so forth. These are fundamental and form the skeleton of history. It would be easy, however, to introduce novel topics and a fresh treatment of old ones. The field is virtually unlimited and any common object, any institution, trade, or social activity may serve as a peg for our studies. Whether it is a history of clocks and watches, or arithmetic, hairdressing, or lead-pencils the theme can be traced by means of an encyclopædia and a few reference books, with just the requisite amount of detail to demonstrate some of the basic principles of history enumerated in our axioms.

The correlation of one subject in the curriculum to another is a problem that may be handled in various ways, but it is sometimes overlooked that history often furnishes a common denominator, or a bond of union that may be extremely enlightening and practical. Even those who detest mathematics, for example, might be stimulated to an interest in the subject if they knew the fascinating story of the development of the ideas of number and quantity. It happens to be a phase of human evolution that can be illustrated by living persons to-day, from a primitive savage whose vocabulary of number is limited to five, through all intermediate stages up to say, Professor Einstein. Is there any more striking example of the evolutionary element in history? Parts of the story, such as the Roman and Arabic numerals, are material fitted for quite young pupils. Older ones will enjoy no less the stories of Archimedes, Pythagoras, and Euclid, the Arabian astronomers, the invention of algebra and logarithms, the division of a circle into 360 degrees and so on. Of course it is not claimed that the historical approach has any special advantage in teaching a subject as such, but it does tie up that subject to the general body of knowledge.

In choice of subjects for special study the tendency should now be away from material things to cultural topics and general ideas. Architecture, sculpture, painting, and music form admirable themes for bridging the gap, and, moreover, they furnish a wealth of practical examples of which reproductions are available. The avoidance of unnecessary details and technicalities will be difficult; at best the outlines will be sketchy. The purpose is not to tell the complete story but to illustrate phases of human activity. Let emphasis be placed on the range of ideas which dominated the various schools of artists or musicians, and this will lead up to the principle already referred to, that all history is really the history of thought. When that idea has been grasped by the pupil and made his own, the history-teacher can feel that his task is accomplished. There may or may not be material profit or practical advantage to be won from the study of history, but there can be no greater gain than the appreciation of the fact that what men think and believe is more important historically than what they do. It is here that history and philosophy join hands.

In conclusion, it may be useful to anticipate some of the objections that will be made to these proposals. The likeliest is that the time-table is already overcrowded and that projects such as these would take up more time than can be spared. Although this difficulty is one that can only be solved by the teacher, there is, at least, one method whereby additional time might be made available: the use of more historical subjects for English composition. The more liberal use of historical subjects, in consultation, of course, with the history-teacher, would perhaps ensure an improvement in both branches of study.

Another likely objection is that the officially prescribed course of study does not permit any deviation whatsoever, and least of all any dallying by the wayside. If this were strictly true, one might be tempted to retort, so much the worse for the course of study. In point of fact, however, the projects and exercises suggested are consistent with almost any course of study in history. Doubtless it would take some ingenuity to work them in, but they do not involve more than an expansion of topics that are already found in nearly every course.

There are two other objections, which one could imagine being made, and which are mutually inconsistent. The first is that the proposals, though somewhat novel in form, do not involve any material not already found in the average group of text-books.

The alternative argument is that the projects and exercises require a mass of facts outside the knowledge of the average pupil, and a consequent amount of investigation beyond his skill and opportunity. The answer is that the topic should be adapted to the readily accessible data and the capacity of the pupil. The facts are much less important than the effort of assembling and using them. If history is to be made something more than a mechanical memorization of a text-book, it urgently demands intelligent thought on the part of the pupil. His rôle must be active not passive; he must learn from the outset to use his imagination. He must attempt to trace cause and effect, to analyse and to generalize. Only by showing him the past in relation to the present can we make him see something of the never-finished pattern of human life.

S. B. WATSON

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

NOVA SCOTIA'S REMEDY FOR THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

THE extraordinary address to the crown made by the Nova Scotian assembly in the summer of 1775 has occasionally attracted attention because of its relation to the local crisis in which Governor Legge was involved, as well as to the revolutionary American situation. One version of it has appeared in print.¹ Through the kindness of the Public Archives of Canada and of Dr. H. P. Biggar, it is now possible to publish it after collation with an original in London. There exists also in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia a preliminary draft of part of the address, so that a number of significant elisions may be related to the text.² The occasion seems convenient for a brief sketch of the circumstances of the address and of its ultimate disposition.

The address was a triple affair, providing, as it did, suggested remedies for the revolutionary situation in North America, for avoidance of the clashes in which Nova Scotian governors, councils, and assemblies had been almost continuously involved since 1758, and for specific administrative reform of the colony. Its independence and originality of thought were quite remarkable, for they anticipated such diverse later phenomena as the platform of the Chartists, and the commodity dollar, while the proposal for liquidation of the American fiscal *impasse* was not without its merits.

Nova Scotia, from the beginning of representative government in 1758 to the arrival of the Loyalists in 1783, provides extremely confusing and treacherous ground for the historian, chiefly because Nova Scotia was only a political expression for a number of widely-scattered communities which were not at all accurately represented either by Halifax or by the administration and legislature there. I hope some day to proffer an account of those years, but at present it seems likely to be merely a series of hypotheses. At any rate, it would be unwise to attempt any summary judgments here of the Legge affair or of the mixed

¹*The parliamentary history of England* (London, 1813), XVIII, 699-705. Reference to its receipt at Whitehall, Sept. 1, 1775, is in Peter Force (ed.), *American Archives*, series 4 (Washington, 1840), III, 691.

²Public Archives of Nova Scotia, vol. 301, no. 10. These elisions and verbal changes, when of interest or importance, appear in footnotes to the text below.

resentment and venality involved in the relations of the people, the legislature, and the official class at a time when Nova Scotia depended on the British parliament for an annual grant of over £4,000. The revolutionary crisis in North America is sufficiently familiar.

The address was drawn up by a committee of the long-lived fifth assembly on the motion (June 14, 1775) of John Day of Halifax and Newport.³ The House authorized an address reciting Day's proposal to grant a revenue to the British parliament by a duty on foreign goods and including prayers for privileges and redress of grievances, but added that it must be drawn "acknowledging the Supreme Authority of the *British Parliament*". The other members of the committee were Henry Denny Denson and Winckworth Tonge of King's County, Charles Morris, Jr., of Sunbury County, and John Gay of Cumberland County, so that by their constituencies, if not always by their own residence and interest, they somewhat represented the scattered communities of Nova Scotia. Day brought in the address on June 23 for discussion on that and the next day, after which the House accepted it and ordered three copies to be made and signed by the speaker, William Nesbitt, for transmission to the king, the lord chancellor for the House of Lords, and the speaker for the House of Commons. On July 3 the House ordered that a copy be given to Governor Legge asking his recommendation of it, and next day Nesbitt sent the three principal copies to England. Legge read the address to the Executive Council on July 6, who were "of opinion that the Petition of the House of Assembly in the present session, addressed to The King's Lords and Commons, is in the greater part, of so extraordinary

³Day seems unquestionably to have been the most distinguished member of the early Nova Scotian assemblies and should ere this have been the subject of research. He led in the struggles for control of the estimates by the assembly in 1765 and 1766, while member for Newport, and was largely responsible for the victory in 1766. He led again, as member for Halifax Town, in the crucial session of June-July, 1775, but did not attend the October-November session. He was not a party man and his independence mystified his allies and opponents. Although he was a trader, John Butler, Joshua Mauger's subordinate and leader of the Halifax mercantile group, wrote on July 3, 1775: "Day has again Perplexed the House", and spoke of him as "this unprincipled Fellow" (Public Archives of Canada, *Dartmouth papers*, 1.2., 1176). Legge accused him ("one of the Agent Victuallers to the Army") of having "imbibed" republican principles while living in Philadelphia (Public Archives of Canada, *Nova Scotia state papers, Series A*, vol. 94, p. 48). Perhaps his greatest merit was that he was entitled to speak for the struggling New England settlements on Minas Basin. He seems to have died before October 18, 1780 (*ibid.*, *Series D*, vol 13, p. 126). I have been able to secure only a few fragments of his history outside of his activity in the legislature and there is considerable confusion surrounding his family and others bearing the same name.

a nature, the manner of conducting it so unconstitutional, & of presenting it to The Governor, for His Excellency's recommendation, so unusual, that it cannot deserve any Notice or Countenance from him".⁴ Legge, in the midst of the mess which he had created by trying to clean up the local spoils system, and at the same time to preserve loyalty to Great Britain, wrote bitterly about it in public and private letters to his patron, Lord Dartmouth.⁵

John Pownall, secretary to the Board of Trade, wrote to Speaker Nesbitt, September 16, 1775, saying that the address had been presented to the king, "who received very graciously this mark of the Duty & Loyalty of the Representatives of His Majesty's faithfull Subjects in that Province".⁶ The British House of Commons received the Nova Scotian offer and on November 29, 1775, voted that its principle of taxation was acceptable and that when an act conformable to it was passed in Nova Scotia and assented to by the king, "that then all and Every Duty Tax and assessment upon any Goods Wares or Merchandize imported into the said province, and which Duty Tax and assessment hath been imposed and Levied within the said province by any act or acts of parliament then in force, ought to Cease and be discontinued" and no others be imposed "except such Duties only as it may be Expedient to Continue to Levy or to impose for the Regulation of Commerce, the Net proceeds of the Duties last mentioned to be Carried to the account of the said province".⁷

Lieutenant-Governor Mariot Arbuthnot conveyed this decision to the legislature on June 15, 1776, and they promptly proceeded to carry out their part of what was a quite sensible compromise of the fiscal disagreements between Great Britain and her North American colonies, by drafting an act imposing a duty of eight per cent. on all foreign imports except Bay salt, the income from which was to go to the British parliament. The assembly conferred with the council over the bill on June 18, it passed both Houses on the 19th, and Arbuthnot, after giving

⁴*Ibid.*, Series B, vol. 16, p. 109.

⁵Yet the address is not a complaint against Legge. His relations with the assembly remained friendly, until about July 8. Following the break which developed over the auditing of officials' accounts, the assembly drew up a petition on grievances to be sent to the lord president of the council, July 15 (*ibid.*, D, vol. 11, p. 177) but promised Legge to withdraw it (*ibid.*, A, vol. 94, p. 113). Meanwhile a group of individuals had prepared and forwarded to agents in England the charges which Legge returned to England in 1776 to face.

⁶*Ibid.*, A, vol. 94, p. 180.

⁷As recited in the preamble to the Nova Scotian Act, 16 Geo. III, cap. X.

his assent on June 20, sent it to England the same day.⁸ At that point the whole proposal unaccountably almost dropped out of sight. Receipt of the act in England was not acknowledged, even in its duplicate. It was not included in the legislation of 1776 submitted to the law officer, Richard Jackson, for report to the Board of Trade.⁹ It was not included in the 1783 edition of the laws of Nova Scotia made by Isaac Deschamps and James Brenton. It was not until R. J. Uniacke edited the laws in 1805 that he published it, with the marginal note, "This Act passed with a suspending clause, and His Majesty's pleasure has never been signified."¹⁰ In the tumult of investigating Legge's administration, and of the first year of active American revolution, this example of Nova Scotian intelligence, generosity, and loyalty slipped into some pigeon-hole and was forgotten. Doubtless the Renunciation Act of February 17, 1778, completed its oblivion.

J. BARTLET BREBNER

[Transcribed from the Public Archives of Canada, *Nova Scotia state papers, series A*, vol. 94, pp. 11-30, collated with Public Record Office, *Colonial correspondence, Nova Scotia*, vol 9, p. 310.]

1775 To the Kings, most Excellent Majesty, the Lords
June 24 Spiritual, and Temporal, and the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament Assembled.

The Address, Petition, and Memorial of the Representatives of the Freeholders of the Province, of Nova Scotia, in General Assembly.

Your Loyal and ever dutifull House of Assembly of the province of Nova Scotia, most humbly beg Leave to Address our Gracious Sovereign, and both Houses of Parliament, at this dreadful, and alarming Crisis, when civil discord, and its Melancholy Consequences are impending over all British America.

Actuated by the warmest ties of duty, and affection to the person and Family of our most Gracious Sovereign, Animated with the firmest attachment to the Mother Country, Zealous to support her power and Consequence, over all the British Dominions, and dreading a seperation from her Government, and protection, as the greatest political evil which can befall us, or our posterity.

⁸*Nova Scotia state papers, Series C*, vol. 10, p. 143 ff.; *D*, vol. 12, p. 12 ff.; *A*, vol. 96, p. 40.

⁹*Ibid.*, *A*, vol. 97, p. 76.

¹⁰*Statutes at large, etc., 1758-1804* (Halifax, 1805), 204. There is an MS. copy in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

Influenced by the Principles of humanity and the just rights of Mankind in civil Society, we tremble, at the Gloomy prospect before us, We feel for our Gracious King, We feel for our Mother Country of which many of us are Natives, We feel for the British American Race, once the most Loyall, Virtuous, and happy of mankind; Animated with such principles may we not approach the Supreme Legislature of the British Empire, and as dutifull Children of just and indulgent parents, may we not most humbly solicit for such Regulations, as we conceive most likely to preserve the Inhabitants of this province, in duty and allegiance to our King, in rendering permanent their Connection with, and dependance on the Supreme Legislature, of Great Britain, and preserving inviolably to us, and our Posterity the just rights of Men in Civil Society.

We are fully sensible, that we have no right to pray for redress of Grievances to request privileges or Regulations unless we Acknowledge your right over us, Therefore we the Representatives of the Freeholders of the province of Nova Scotia, do Unanimously, most humbly acknowledge our Gracious Sovereign, George the third, King of Great Britain, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament Assembled, to be the Supreme Legislature of this province, and of all the British Dominions, and that it is our indispensable Duty to pay a due proportion of the Expence of this great Empire.

Having thus as Obedient subjects acknowledged our duty to our King, and our willing submission to the Supreme Legislature of the British Empire, We humbly request the right of being heard in Respect to our Greivances, or wishes, And as our proceedings in this Assembly may possibly have some influence, with other Assemblies in America, We humbly hope it will not seem presuming if we enter on the Subject.

We humbly conceive it will be necessary to the peace and happiness of the British Empire, that the Tax to be raised in the Colonies, and which shall be at the disposal of the British Parliament, and the proportion of each Coloney towards the Imperial Expence should be of such a Nature, as it may never after be necessary to alter it.

We are also humbly of Opinion, that this Tax, should be of such a Nature, as should not depreciate. But should increase, in the same Ratio with the affluence of the Inhabitants of this province.

We are also humbly of Opinion, that the Tax should be of such a Nature, as not to be liable to be affected by the increase or diminution of the Metals of Gold and Silver in the world.

From these Considerations we humbly offer it as our Opinion that the fittest Tax for this purpose, would be a duty of so much per Cent upon all Commodities imported into this Province, not being the produce

of the British Dominions in Europe and America, (except the Article of Bay Salt) this Tax will include almost all the Luxuries made use of, and will increase, in an equal Ratio, with the affluence of the Inhabitants, and if the Rate of the several Articles are fixed every Ten years for the future and Subsequent Ten Years, it will not be liable to depreciate in Value by the increase of the Metals of Gold and Silver.

We therefore humbly pray, that the Supreme Legislature of the British Empire, will please to Accept of a Tax, as above pointed out, and so Conscious are We of your Justice and Humanity, that we request to know what proportion would be pleasing or Agreeable to you, reminding you to consider that this province having no Manufactories or Lucrative Commerce, must ever have a scarcity of Specie.

We also humbly pray, that when the Exigencies of the State may require any further supplies from this province, that then such Requisitions may be made in the usual manner, formerly practiced, whereby we may have an Opportunity of shewing our Duty and attachment to our Sovereign, and our sense of the Cause for which the Requisition is made, by which means, and that only, our Gracious Sovereign, can be Acquainted with the true sense of the people, in these his distant Dominions.

We also humbly pray that you will permit us, and instruct your Governor to assent to an Act to disqualify and deprive every Member of the Community from the rights and privileges of a subject in civil prosecutions who shall be detected in any illicit Trade or fraudulent dealing together with their Aiders, Abettors, or Concealers in this or any other Branch of the Revenue.

This will render unnecessary a Multitude of Officers employed to detect illicit Trade and prevent that disgust and evil Spirit which has been created by their Insolence, and will prevent that Corruption of manners and that contempt of the Crime of perjury, which is now become so open and flagrant. We humbly request that You will appoint good and sufficient Salaries, to the Officers of the Customs, and absolutely forbid them to take any Fee, in any case whatsoever as we have found, that the detail of Revenue duty, in all its Departments, have been clogged with unnecessary forms and trifling Regulations, to increase the fees and perquisites of the Officers, And are also humbly of Opinion that if those Officers were under the Controul of the Governor, the Council and Judges of the Supreme Court of this province, it would be more for the advantage of His Majesty's Service and the good of the Revenue. We also humbly request that if the Mode of Taxation be pleasing to you that you will permit and Order the Legislative Council and the Judges of the Supreme Court, for the time being, to determine and

affix the Rate of the Taxed Articles, every Ten years for every subsequent Ten years.

Your ever dutifull Loyal and affectionate House of Assembly would not in these unhappy times presume to mention their own Greivances or request any particular privileges least you should suppose, they were meant conditional of their just duty and Allegiance this day Acknowledged. But as the humble Friends of our King and Mother Country may we not respectfully point out those Measures which may best tend to preserve the Inhabitants of this province in Loyalty and Allegiance, and altho we are not at this time in such Circumstances, as to raise a Revenue, for the support of the interior Civil Government of this Province, agreeable to the present plan established by his Majesty & which seems absolutely necessary for the Dignity of Government in a Country, whose particular Situation and advantages are such, as may probably induce Government to order it to¹¹ be the Head Quarters of the British Land and Sea Forces in America. But altho we may be unable wholly to support so large yet necessary civil List, yet we are willing to sett a part a Fund for that purpose which will necessarily increase with the Oppulence and Number of the Inhabitants and will in time relieve our parent State from the heavy Burthen of our support; Our poverty as a Province will not prevent a British King and Parliament from hearing and justly releiving us, when as humble and dutifull subjects and being well acquainted with this Country and its Inhabitants we only beg Leave to inform our Gracious King and Parliament, with the Measures which we conceive, would best tend to the peace and happiness of this Country.

We therefore most humbly presume to offer as our Opinion, That no Native of this province, may ever be appointed a Governor, or Lieut. Governor in this province; the Ambition of affluent Individuals in the provinces to Acquire Governments have led to faction and partys, subversive of the peace and happiness of the people, the good of the Province and the Honor of Government, probably the present disputes in America, may have been promoted by this Cause.¹²

¹¹The draft of the address in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia begins at this point. Halifax has always profited by wars and the presence of army and navy. John Butler scented the advantages of the Boston disturbances and wrote to Joshua Mauger about them as early as May 6, 1775 (*Dartmouth papers*, I. 2., 1119). The assembly here take pains not to prejudice the parliamentary grant upon which Nova Scotia had depended since 1749.

¹²Here the draft continues:

"We humbly offer it as our Opinion that no Governor should continue longer than three years in this province.

"We humbly ask the Questions whither a Governor having resided Nine Years in three different provinces in America, would not be a proper Member of the Board of Trade, and whither it would not prevent numberless misrepresentations, and their

We are humbly of Opinion that the Members of the Legislative Council should be appointed for Life, & that no person should be appointed a Member of the Council, unless he be possessed of Landed property in the province to the Value of One thousand pounds at least,¹³ and we most humbly pray that no Collector or under Officer of the Customs or any Officer, who is directly or indirectly concerned in the Collection of the provincial Revenue, may ever be admitted to a seat at the Council Board.¹⁴

We humbly pray most fervently that the Officers of the Customs and every Officer concerned in Collecting the provincial Revenue, may be prohibited from serving as Representatives in General Assembly.¹⁵

We humbly pray that the Elections for the Representatives of the people may be Triennial,¹⁶ may be by Ballot, and that the day of Election Triennially¹⁷ may be fixed by Law, and that every Officer of Government be particularly prohibited from interfering in Elections under severe and heavy Penalties.¹⁸

We humbly pray that the Judges of the Supreme Court of this province, may have their Commissions during good behaviour in the same manner as in England.¹⁹

We humbly pray that after the decease of the present Judges that all future Judges may be appointed in England,²⁰ and may not be Natives

consequent Evills.

¹³We are humbly of Opinion that the Lieut. Governor of the Province, the Secretary, the Surveyor General, and the Receiver General of the Quit Rents should ex Officio be Members of the Legislative Council of this province and that they hold their Offices during good behaviour, and not during the pleasure of a Governor."

The first grievance of the transmitted address was against Lieutenant-Governor Michael Francklin, an ambitious and somewhat unscrupulous Nova Scotian who disliked Legge, absented himself from the council, was deeply in debt to the Halifax merchants and to Joshua Mauger, and subsequent to this address had much to do with organizing and expressing the criticisms of the group so badly frightened by Legge's investigations. There may also have been some traces of the old dislike of Chief Justice Belcher's lieutenant-governorship.

¹⁴The draft continues "and unless he have satt in the House of Assembly for two Sessions of Assembly at least".

¹⁵Every assembly had been thwarted more or less seriously by the nominated Legislative Council which was composed of the entrenched officials of the colony, supplemented by an occasional temporarily resident official. Four of the ten members of council in 1775 (of whom six or eight attended) were collectors of the revenue. Most of them had some landed property, but not more than four seem likely to have possessed lands worth £1000. They were town-dwelling officials and all but two out of touch with the out-settlements.

¹⁶Two assemblymen were collectors and others deputy-collectors.

¹⁷The draft reads "Annual Annually".

¹⁸These and other electoral reforms were included in an assembly bill of the same session which was rejected by the council. John Fenton, provost marshal, had frequently been complained against for his conduct of elections.

¹⁹This was a long-standing request and for many years the assembly withheld voting adequate salaries for the two assistant judges because they could not be removed by an address of both Houses of the legislature.

²⁰The draft continues "recommended by the Lord Chancellor".

of this province, We can trace the present unhappy disorders in America to the Want of a Regulation of this kind.²¹

We humbly request Your Majesty will Graciously permit the Legislature of this province, to Ascertain the Number and Boundaries of the several Countys in this province.²²

Most Gracious King, grant and permit us a Sherriff in each and every County, and deliver us from a Provost Marshall, presiding over this whole province, whose influence owing to the Nature of his Office, and the Number of his Deputys must be excessive, and whose power in Elections is absolute, if we are not relieved in this particular, we can have no pretensions, even to the name of Freeman.²³

We humbly pray that your Majesty will Graciously permit, and Order, that a Recorder of Deeds and Conveyances, be appointed in each and every County, and not a Deputy to a principle residing else where.²⁴

Our Gracious King, cannot be insensible of the great necessity there is that the most Respectable persons in the Community be appointed to the Commissions of the peace, Legal Authority unless aided by the good Opinion of the people, can have but little effect, probably the reason why the most respectable persons decline the Office, is because they are liable to be dismissed unheard,²⁵ The want of power in the Magistrates to execute, or enforce the Laws has been a general complaint in America.

We humbly pray that the Governor, Council, and Judges of the Supreme Court may Constitute a Court of Vice Admiralty throughout the province,²⁶ to determine all Causes, cognisable in such Courts agreeable to Law and Eaquity, and to receive no Fees therefor.

We humbly pray that any two or more of the Judges of the Supreme

²¹The chief justice (Jonathan Belcher) had been appointed in England, was trained in the law, and was a native of Massachusetts. The assistant judges (Charles Morris, Sr., and Isaac Deschamps) were old residents of the colony and self-trained in the law.

²²A subject of chronic dispute between the Executive Council and the assembly, recently revived by an ingenious device which would have given Halifax and the official clique almost inevitable control of legislation.

²³A further attack on Fenton, who held office by patent and was not finally dislodged so that sheriffs could be appointed until 1781. The draft continues: "We humbly pray that your Majesty will Graciously permit, and Order that a Judge of Probate for wills be appointed in each and every County, and not a Deputy to a principle residing elsewhere." William Nesbitt was judge of probate at Halifax. He was old and neglectful and the delays were vexatious.

²⁴Arthur Gould, former marine officer and now councillor, was register at this time.

²⁵The draft continues "(would it not be a necessary Introduction to the Magistracy? that no person should in future be appointed unless he had been choose a Member of Assembly for two several Sessions)". The unpaid office of justice of the peace had always been subject to grave abuses and the governor and Executive Council had frequently suspended J.P.'s or taken them off the commission with very little investigation.

²⁶The remainder of the sentence is not found in the draft. The vice-admiralty jurisdiction was much disliked because of its occasional heavy incidence on individuals.

Court, and a Jury Balloted for and struck by the partys, shall constitute a Court of Equity in all Civil Cases throughout the province subject only to appeals to His Majesty in Council where the property contested may Amount to Five hundred pounds Sterling or upwards.²⁷

We humbly pray to be delivered from the Oppression of Practitioners in the Law, and pray that in all civil Actions their Fees, Charges, and perquisites may be limited to Five P Cent, on all Sums, declared for, or defended, it is not the desire of our good King to have his Quiet, and inoffensive Subjects in this Quarter of the Globe given up to be persecuted by a few Rapacious Men.

Most Benign King, your Majesty Was Graciously pleased to Grant Tracts of Land in this Province upon various Conditions of Settlement, and payment of Quit Rents, many of the Conditions of Settlement were impracticable, and others so Expensive, that the Grantees, were not able fully to effect them. We humbly pray to be exonerated from those severe Conditions, and that you will Graciously Limit, the power of the Court of Escheats to defaults in the payment of the Quit Rent only.

This House is sorry to observe that most cruel use has been made of this power of Escheating Land even to the depriving of Two Old Officers of the Gratuity, given them by your Majesty for near Forty years of Military Service, and that to Gratify two Domesticks of that Governor who Ordered the Escheatment, and at this time a Tract of Land is Advertized to be Escheated on which the proprietors have laid out near Four thousand pounds.²⁸

Finally, we most humbly request, that the Assembly of this province may be called together Annually,²⁹ and that no Governor may be allowed to dissolve, or Prorogue them, when he shall be informed, that they are preparing a petition to our Gracious King, and Parliament of Great Britain.³⁰

²⁷Legge and his solicitor-general, James Monk, Jr., had recently mooted the creation of such a court to deal with officials in default, but had been checked by article 27 of the governor's instructions which forbade the creation of any new court. The assembly here co-operates, with the interesting proviso of an arbitral jury.

²⁸Part of the housecleaning upon which Legge embarked in 1773 at Dartmouth's request was reform of the colossal land grants in Nova Scotia on very few of which the services of tenure had been performed. Escheat was frequently highly desirable and was later embarked on extensively to provide for the Loyalists. I have not identified the two escheats mentioned here.

²⁹The draft reads "*on the Tenth day of June*". The assemblies frequently asserted that June and early July were the only times when members from the out-settlements could conveniently come to Halifax.

³⁰This appears to be a reference to an address prepared by the assembly at its session in December, 1774, which was neatly eliminated by the councillors' friends in the assembly who kept it off the journals until prorogation. The assembly were mistaken in blaming Legge. A copy of this address, which was a most outspoken attack on the office-holders and councillors, fell into Legge's hands, and he forwarded it with approval to Dartmouth, January 10, 1775 (*Nova Scotia state papers*, A, vol. 93, p. 93).

Most Gracious Sovereign, we have unhappily experienced, that the redress of our Grievances and those requested Regulations, could not come from us in the Constitutional Mode of Laws, which must have passed a Council,³¹ some of them without property in the Province or Interest in our Welfare.

May the God of all Goodness shower down on our Gracious Sovereign, and his beloved Family every Temporal Blessing.

May the Spirit of Concord, Justice, and publick Virtue, direct the Councils of the British Senate. and may the Father of Mercies preserve Constitutional Freedom, to the British Race, in every part of the Globe.

WM. NESBITT, Speaker

Halifax June 24th, 1775.

Endorsed.

In Mr. Nesbitt's of
4th July 1775.

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST
OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE RELATING TO CANADA'S PART
IN THE GREAT WAR

THE following list of references has been compiled as a supplement to the bibliography which was printed in this REVIEW in December last ("Historical literature on Canada's participation in the Great War", pp. 412-36). The writer wishes to express his thanks for correction, advice, and assistance to Messrs R. C. Fetherstonhaugh of Montreal, H. S. Turner of Clinton, Colonel F. S. L. Ford of Toronto, and the Historical Section of the General Staff, Ottawa.

Two articles by Major-General Sir W. H. Anderson were credited in the December issue, page 436, to the *Journal of the United Service Institution* instead of to the *Journal of the United Service Institution of India*.

W. B. KERR

I. PUBLICATIONS DURING THE WAR

(1) Battalion Narratives—Official

HEWITT, G. E. *The story of the Twenty-eighth Battalion, 1914-1917*. London: Charles and Son, for Canadian war records. 1918.

HOLLAND, J. A. *The story of the Tenth Battalion, 1914-1917*. London: Charles and Son, for Canadian war records, 1918.

³¹The draft continues "Composed chiefly of Custom House Officers and Seekers of Employment".

MARTIN, S. *The story of the Thirteenth Battalion, 1914-1917*. London: Charles and Son, for Canadian war records. 1918.

RICHARDS, R. *The story of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, 1914-1917*. London: Charles and Son, for Canadian war records. 1918.

These four are little pamphlets, paper-covered. Being based on official records, they furnish some information with regard to movements of units which may be of use if not superseded in later narratives. The accounts of operations are now of small value.

(2) Battalion Narratives—Unofficial

[ANON.] *The Royal Canadian Regiment*. London: Harrison and Sons, St. Martin's Lane. 1917. A sketch of the regiment's history in ten closely printed pages, from the formation to the Somme battles, 1916.

H., J. A. *Les poilus canadiens: Le roman du Vingt-deuxième Bataillon (Canadien-français)*. Quebec: 1918. The story of the 22nd Battalion in fair detail until Vimy; a narrative rather good despite war-time restrictions. Apparently prepared for the celebration at Quebec of the second anniversary of Courcelette.

(3) Brigade Narratives—Official

Historical summaries of the services of the following brigades of the Canadian Expeditionary Force were issued from the press of the Department of Militia and Defence, Ottawa, 1918: 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th Infantry Brigades; 10th Infantry Brigade, 44th, 46th, 47th, and 50th Battalions; and of the Auxiliary Services overseas. These are sketches of operations in about six pages each, foolscap size, except that of the 10th Brigade which occupies two pages only. Of little value now.

(4) Summaries and Reports—Official

[CANADA: DEPARTMENT OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE.] *Brief review, operations Canadian Corps, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918*. Ottawa: Press of the department. 1918. Four pages, foolscap size: no value now.

Memoranda respecting work of the Department of Militia and Defence: European War. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919. Annual reports dealing with the work of the department in connection with the war. They contain chiefly copies of orders-in-council concerning organization and supply.

Proclamations, orders-in-council and documents relating to the European War. Ottawa: Public Printing and Stationery Department. 1918.

[CANADA: DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INFORMATION.] *Canadian official record*. Ottawa: The director. 1918. A weekly summary of the activities of various departments, commissions, and committees organized for purposes of war and reconstruction under authority of order-in-council.

[CANADA: MILITARY HOSPITALS COMMISSION.] *Report of the work of the Military Hospitals Commission*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1917.

[CANADA: REGISTRATION BOARD.] *Report of the Canada Registration Board*. Ottawa: The board. 1918. Tables of statistics and reports of the work performed by the board in connection with conscription.

[CANADA: SECRETARY OF STATE.] *Copies of proclamations, orders-in-council, and documents relating to the European War*. Compiled by the department of the secretary of state. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau. 1915. Also first supplement to above, 1915; second supplement, 1916; third supplement, 1917; fourth supplement, 1918. In addition to the proclamations and orders-in-council, these volumes include royal warrants, notices, and official correspondence from the *London gazette* and the *Canada gazette* and lists of contraband of war. The appendices contain copies of certain acts of the parliament of Canada, of certain British acts which affected Canada, and some diplomatic and other correspondence. The work comes to an abrupt halt with documents of July and September, 1916.

(5) *Memoirs and Letters*

- BELAND, H. *My three years in a German prison*. Toronto: Briggs. 1919. The experiences of a former member of a dominion cabinet who fell into the hands of the Germans in Belgium in August, 1914. He was removed to the Stadtvogtei in Berlin where he employed his medical skill in treating prisoners. He received special privileges and a degree of responsibility; and in May, 1918, he returned to England on exchange. He writes with no trace of rancour.
- BELTON, J. and ODELL, E. G. *Hunting the Hun*. New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1918. This book is in the main an account of the overseas experience of Lieutenant Odell of the 24th Battalion. A careful description is given of the Vimy battle and a shorter but also valuable one of the engagement at Hill 70. Chapters are added on the routine of life in and out of the line, including anecdotes about the "Vingt-deux" Battalion, air combats, and the fighting in the Douai Plain, April to May, 1917. On the whole, a good memoir of the campaign of 1917 in the Vimy-Lens area.
- BRUCE, CONSTANCE. *Humor in tragedy*. London: Skeffington Bros. 1918. A record of life in hospital and the experiences of the nurses of no. 1, Canadian Stationary Hospital in France and at Lemnos, Cairo, and Salonica. A pleasing book with more than sixty pen-and-ink sketches by the authoress.
- DAWSON, C. *Living bayonets*. Toronto: S. B. Gundy. 1919. The concluding volume of Mr. Dawson's letters from April 14, 1917, until October 6, 1918. He narrates well his own part in Vimy Ridge, and the unfortunate experience of his section in the action at Dury.
- FLICK, C. L. *Just what happened*. London: Edward Stanford, Ltd., Long Acre. 1917. A diary of the mobilisation of the First Division, kept by a lieutenant-colonel of the 31st British Columbia Horse. Its principal purpose is to expose errors in administration and faults in equipment which are charged to Sir Sam Hughes. The author believes that the root of the trouble lay in Sir Sam's preference for inexperienced Canadians over experienced British officers.
- "GREENJACKET". *With Canadians in captivity. A dominion officer's experiences of German prison life* (at Bischofswerda and Halle) (Canada, April 14, 28, May 5, 26, June 2, 23, 1917).
- McMULLEN, F. and EVANS, J. *Out of the jaws of Hunland*. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1918. The authors of this book, both in the 4th C.M.R.'s, were in the line on the fatal day of June 2, 1916, not far from Sanctuary Wood. Mr. Evans, "wild over our helplessness", was taken when he had spent all his ammunition. He saw much maltreatment of the Belgians by the Germans; was sent to a coal-mine near Dulmen; rather enjoyed keeping his guards in hot water even at the expense of frequent punishments; endeavoured to escape and at the fourth attempt succeeded. He relates his adventures in a tone of high spirits. Mr. McMullen was too seriously wounded to permit of a similar vein. He received good medical attention at the dressing station and in hospital; but in a prison camp at Friedrichsfeld and on a farm he experienced much less considerate treatment. He witnessed a good deal of abuse of their own troops by the German officers. After one failure, he managed to escape to Holland.
- MANION, R. J. *A surgeon in arms*. Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart. 1918. The experiences of a well-known M.P. and member of the present dominion cabinet.
- MERRILL, WAINWRIGHT. *A college man in khaki: Letters of an American in the British artillery*. Edited with an introduction by C. M. STEARNS. New York: George H. Doran Company. 1918. The letters of a young American of Dartmouth College who joined the Canadian artillery under the name of A. A. Stanley, spent the summer of 1917 in training in England, and went to France in October to the 6th Canadian Siege Battery. His military experience was short, as he was fatally wounded in the Salient on November 6. The most interesting of the letters, therefore, are those which relate his impressions of England.

MUNROE, J. *Mopping up*. New York: H. K. Fly Company. 1918. A narrative of the experiences of one platoon and, in particular, of one man of the original Princess Pat's. The author, no doubt through modesty, adopts the plan of relating events as supposedly seen by a collie mascot: but he drops this peculiar form as the story progresses. By a judicious record of their words and acts, he portrays the moods and reflections of these men of the P.P.'s in Canada and England in 1914. When the action shifts to France, he describes the experiences of the trenches in early 1915 as they appeared to keenly interested novices. In June, 1915, he was wounded out. This narrative, related with literary and dramatic skill and fidelity to fact, is undoubtedly the finest of the early memoirs.

TAYLOR, R. *A prisoner of war* (Canada, June 30 and July 7, 1917).

THORN, J. C. *Three years a prisoner in Germany*. Vancouver: Cowan and Brookhouse. 1919. The author had experience of several prison camps and found his guards quite amenable to approach by means of the contents of Red Cross parcels. He records chiefly his attempts to escape, his escapes, and the punishment on recapture.

WRIGHT, R. *Letters to the mother of a soldier*. New York: F. A. Stokes Company. 1918. Letters of an American in the C.E.F., from Toronto, Montreal, and Quebec.

(6) General Accounts

BARNARD, L. G. *The leading pictorial souvenir of the Great War, depicting especially the part played by Canada and the Canadians*. Vol. I: *A complete history of the opening period of the great European conflagration from the Serbian incident to the turning back of the German invaders from the gates of Paris*. Vol. II: *A complete history of the great international conflagration from the German retreat from Paris to the incomparable defence of Ypres and the opening of the winter campaign*. Montreal: Dodd-Simpson Press. 1914-5. An early attempt at an illustrated history of the war. The photographs are of some interest, the history of little value now.

[CANADIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY.] *Canadian Red Cross bulletins*. Toronto: The society. 1915-9. The monthly publications containing items of news about the Red Cross, reports by officials and branches, and letters from men at the front in gratitude for gifts.

[CANADIAN WAR RECORDS OFFICE.] *The Canadian war pictorial*. 4 vols. London and Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton. 1916-7-8-9. Albums of selected official photographs together with some articles descriptive of the work of the corps.

Canada in khaki. 3 vols. London: Pictorial Newspapers Company, for the office, 1917-8-9. Illustrations (some coloured), official photographs, stories, and articles of little value now.

CRAIG, J. D. *The first Canadian Division in the battles of 1918*. Compiled under direction of Major-General A. C. MACDONELL. London: Barrs and Company. 1919. A brief laudatory account of the share of the First Division in the battles of the Hundred Days, given to the troops of the division on demobilisation.

HAYDON, W. *Canada and the war*. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, and Company. 1915. A description in enthusiastic terms of the response of Canada to the call for war.

JOHNSON, S. C. *The flags of our fighting army*. London: A. and C. Black. 1918. The appendix of this book contains a record of the colours of eighty-three Canadian battalions.

[PAY AND RECORD OFFICE.] *List of officers and men serving in the First Canadian Contingent of the British Expeditionary Force*. London: His Majesty's Printers. 1914.

SANDWELL, B. K. and others. *The call to arms: Montreal's roll of honor*. Montreal: Southam Press. 1915. An account of the regiments which Montreal sent to the front and of the work of various patriotic societies in the city. Illustrated with portraits of officers and prominent Montrealers.

WILLSON, B. *In the Ypres salient: The story of a fortnight's Canadian fighting, June 2nd-16th, 1916*. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, and Company. 1916. A reprint of a correspondent's despatches.

"X,P.I." *The spider web: The romance of a flying boat war flight*. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1919. A description by a Toronto man in the Royal Naval Air Service, of his work and that of other Canadians in the service at Felixstowe.

(7) Units and Services

[DIRECTOR OF MEDICAL SERVICES.] *Bulletins of the Canadian Army Medical Corps*. London: Office of the Canadian director of medical services. 1915-9. A monthly bulletin of instructions, news, and notes, highly technical.

ELDER, J. M. and others. *No. 3 Canadian General Hospital (McGill) in France*. Middlesborough, England: Hood and Company. 1918. A photograph album containing 115 pages of illustrations. There are some introductory remarks by Lieutenant-Colonel J. M. Elder, and statistics for 1915-7.

GREGORY, W. T. *From camp to hammock: The story of the 241st Battalion*. Leamington, Ont.: The author. 1917. The experiences of a battalion in Canada, which was broken up in England to furnish drafts.

HILL, R. H. *Canadian fliers at the front* (Canada, Jan. 12, 1918).

The night hawks (Canada, Feb. 23, 1918). Anecdotes about Canadian aviators.

MOORE, M. M. *The maple leaf in France* (Canada, Jan. 5, 12, 19, 26, 1918). Articles concerning chiefly Red Cross and hospital work.

(8) Verse

BROWN, F. S. *Contingent ditties*. London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company. 1915. Songs of the mobilisation and arrival in France by a member of the Princess Pat's.

DURKIN, D. L. *The fighting men of Canada*. London: Erskine Macdonald. 1918.

GARVIN, J. W. *Canadian poems of the Great War*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1918. These are for the most part poems by civilians; but there are a few by soldiers, e.g., B. F. Trotter, which reflect experience of service.

GRAVES, J. W. *Songs of the war*. London: Charles W. Kelly. 1916. Nine pieces of verse by a Canadian Methodist minister who served with no. 6 Field Ambulance, C.A.M.C.

KETTERSON, A. *On active service: Ideals of Canada's fighting men*. Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart. 1917. Selections in prose and verse, chosen by various members of the C.E.F. Edited by an ex-chaplain.

MACPHAIL, A. *The book of sorrow*. London: Oxford University Press. 1916. An anthology of about 500 poems, including a few by Canadians.

SARSON, H. S. *From field and hospital*. London: Erskine Macdonald. 1916. War pieces about his own experiences by an ex-member of the C.E.F.

(9) Magazines

Canada. Kingsway House, London. This official weekly published during the war a great many short articles on all phases of Canadian war activities, and many letters from those of the Princess Pat's in 1915 to those of the North Russia Expeditionary Force in 1919. It also quoted or summarized the official communiques and the reports of Canadian war correspondents like Messrs. Hill, James, and Livesay. From all of these, isolated facts may be gleaned which are yet of value.

Canadian daily record. A small four-page sheet summarizing the news, distributed to the troops at the front by the Canadian War Records Office.

Unit Journals

(a) Infantry

4th Battalion, *Dead Horse Corner gazette*; 5th Battalion, *The Christmas garland*; 7th Battalion, *The listening post*; 14th Battalion, *The growler*; 16th Battalion, *The brazier*; 17th Reserve Battalion, *The clansman*; 20th Battalion, *The 20th gazette*; 24th Battalion, *Vic's patrol*; 27th Battalion, *Trench echo*; 49th Battalion, *The forty-niner*; 67th Battalion, *The western Scot*; 72nd Battalion, *The kill*; 103rd Battalion, *The timber wolf*; 107th Battalion, *The Morrissey mention*; 113th Battalion, *The Lethbridge highlander*; 134th Battalion, *The kiltie*; 207th Battalion, *The whizz-bang*; 236th Battalion, *Breath o'heather*; P.P.C.L.I.'s, *The Princess Pat's post*; 11th Brigade, *The shell-hole advance*.

(b) Machine-gun corps

The Canadian machine gunner. Printed in England. 18 numbers, 1917 and 1918.

(c) Artillery

53rd Battery, *Action front*; 58th Battery, *O'pip*; 66th Battery, *The straffer*.

(d) Medical Services

No. 1 Field Ambulance, *Iodine chronicle*; no. 2 Field Ambulance, *The splint record*; no. 3 Field Ambulance, *Now and then*; 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Field Ambulances, *N.Y.D.*; no. 3 Canadian General Hospital, *The McGilliken*; no. 5 Canadian General Hospital, *Convoy call*, and also *The blister*; no. 15 Canadian General Hospital, *Stand easy chronicle*; no. 3 Casualty Clearing Station, *C.C.S. review*; no. 4 Casualty Clearing Station, *Clearings*; Canadian Field Comforts Commission, *Field comforts*; Canadian Hospitals Commission, *Reconstruction*, also *Back to mufti*; Canadian Red Cross, *Canadian Red Cross special*; Granville Special Hospital, *Canadian hospital news*; Ontario Military Hospital (Orpington), *Ontario stretchers*.

(e) Engineers

Canadian Engineers' Training Depot, Seaford, *The Canadian sapper*, 1918.

(f) Army Service Corps

C.A.S.C., Shorncliffe, *C.A.S.C. news*.

(g) Postal Corps

Canadian Postal Corps, *Mail slingers' gazette*.

(h) Pay and Record Office

P. and R.O., London, *The maple leaf*; the magazine of the overseas military forces of Canada. A special victory number was produced for Christmas, 1918.

(i) Miscellaneous

Bramshott Camp H.Q., *Bramshott magazine*; Canadian Base Depot, *Rouelles Camp magazine* and *Canadian Base Depot magazine*; Canadian Corps Training School, *T'Chun*; Canadian G.H.Q., 3rd Echelon, *La vie canadienne*; Canadian Record Office, *C.R.O. bulletin*; Canadian Reserve Army, *The barrage*; Canadian Training School, *Chevrons to stars*; Khaki University, *The beaver*.

The above journals were issued with greatly varying degrees of regularity. Being strictly censored, they contain little of historical importance; but they may yield some details if interpreted by members of the units concerned. The list is probably not complete.

(10) Miscellaneous

BUSH, F. T. *With the Canadians in France and Flanders*. London. Fine Arts Printing Company. 1918. Six coloured sketches by a sergeant of the 29th Battalion.

COLLINS, G. R. N. *Military organization and administration*. London: Hugh Rees. 1918. Technical lectures at the Canadian Military School by an officer of the 4th Battalion.

SIME, J. G. *Canada chaps*. Toronto: John Lane. 1917. A series of sketches of individuals about to enlist or already enlisted; pleasing little essays.

[STAFF OF CANADIAN CORPS.] *Canadian corps championships*. London: Jordan Gaskell, Dean St., Fetter Lane. 1918. A magazine containing accounts and official photographs of the events in the dominion day celebrations at Tincques; also certain other photographs.

[STAFF OF FOURTH DIVISION.] *The message from Mars, being a Christmas greeting from the officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the 4th Canadian Division in the field, December, 1918*. London: Published for the division by the Carlton Studio, 29 Bedford St., Strand. 1918. A magazine containing some reminiscences, stories, and photographs, given to each man of the division.

II. PUBLICATIONS AFTER THE WAR

(1) Official

OTTER, Sir W. A. *Internment operations, 1914-20*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1921. A concise account of the work of internment in Canada with a list of camps, camp orders, statistics, regulations.

(2) Personal Memoirs

HAMILTON, L. A. *March 3rd, 1918* (Twenty-first Battalion communique, 1933). Article on a signaller's experience in a well-known German raid near Lens prior to the March offensive.

[KILPATRICK, G. G. D.] *Odds and ends from a regimental diary*. Montreal: December, 1923. "A pot-pourri of memories" in 30 pages (by the chaplain) concerning experiences of the 42nd Battalion, sent to all ranks as a Christmas card.

[MOUNSEY, T.] *Diary of Thomas Mounsey* (Forty-niner, nos. 17 and 18, to be completed in succeeding issues). The experiences of a member of the 49th Battalion in concise form.

SCUDAMORE, T. V. *Lighter episodes in the life of a prisoner of war*. Aldershot, England: Gale and Polden. 1933. An amplification of two articles which have already appeared in the *Canadian defence quarterly*.

WARE, F. B. *The First Battalion at Givenchy* (Canadian veteran, Dec., 1933). Reminiscences in the form of an article.

(3) Biography

[ANON.] *In Flanders Fields and its author* (Canadian veteran, Jan., 1934). A good article on John McCrae.

BOVEY, W. *Sir Arthur Currie: The Corps commander and the principal* (McGill news, March, 1934). A eulogy of Sir Arthur which contains information worthy of note about his policies as commander.

MACPHAIL, Sir A. *In Flanders fields*. Toronto: Briggs. 1919. A sketch of the life of John McCrae with selections from his poems and letters.

(4) Histories of Units

MACARTHUR, D. C. *The history of the Fifty-fifth Battery, C.F.A.* Hamilton: Robert Duncan and Company. 1919 (listed in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, 1933, 434, but not described). A limp-leather booklet containing in 82 pages the story of a unit which did not reach the front until September, 1917. The author, who was apparently a signaller, traces the fortunes of the battery with a running commentary on the common experiences of the rank and file. He mentions the rather few casualties with the circumstances of each and dwells on estaminets, rest camps, and recreations. Mr. MacArthur is in no way critical or inclined to point a moral; and he has produced an attractive booklet. In the tone there is a shade of regret that the adventure is over.

McGUIRE, M. V. *The 2nd C.M.R.'s in France and Flanders: From the records of Lt.-Col. G. C. JOHNSTON*. Vernon, B.C.: Vernon News Printing and Publishing Company. 1932. Based chiefly if not wholly on the personal papers of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston, this account is somewhat slighter than the average battalion history; but it is enlivened by anecdotes such as that of General Currie's visit to the battalion and the subsequent interview which was reducing Johnston "to a nervous wreck" when enemy shelling came to his relief. The chief thread of development is the steady increase in combatant efficiency from the unit's arrival in France in September, 1915, through Vimy, Amiens, and minor operations until the desperate struggle at St. Rémy near Cambrai on September 29, 1918. There the regiment overcame all obstacles and established itself in possession of the village and the neighbouring canal. Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston does not hesitate to make criticisms. Though it would have been much improved by amplification, the account is a valuable addition to the history of the Canadian Corps.

McKEOWN, J. D. and GILLESPIE, R. S. *From Otterpool to the Rhine with the 23rd Battery, C.F.A.* London: Charles and Son. 1919. An outline in 33 pages of the battery's experiences from September, 1915, until the end of 1918. The authors refer to actions only briefly but drop hints of historical value, e.g., about the difficulty of maintaining the artillery organization after the passage of the Canal du Nord (Sept. 27, 1918). They insert a few touches of humour and some notes from personal observation. The booklet is of the sort which is intelligible to the veteran but a stumbling-block to the civilian.

McLEOD, J. N. *A pictorial record and original muster roll of the 29th Battalion, C.E.F.: A splendid pictorial record and brief sketch of the battalion from mobilisation until arrival in France*. Vancouver: R. P. Latta and Company. 1919. This book contains brief sketches of the activities of the battalion from the mobilisation until the arrival in France in September, 1915. Concerning the experiences of the unit in France there are only three essays; one by the *padre* on the spirit of the 29th, one on the winning of the Victoria Cross by Lieutenant B. Hanna at Hill 70, and one by Captain H. J. Biggs on his unpleasant experiences in prison camps after his capture in April, 1916. Included in the book are some fine engravings and forty-four excellent photographs. Of only limited interest to non-members of the battalion.

(5) Summaries

EDWARDS, E. W. *The last hundred days of the war*. Walkerton, Ontario: Telescope Press. 1931. A sketch of corps operations with emphasis on the part of the 4th Infantry Brigade. The author used published narratives but inserted a few notes from his own observation.

ROWELL, N. W. *Canada and the empire* (Cambridge history of the British Empire, volume on Canada, chapter xxx, 1930). Mr. Rowell traces the development of Canadian policy during and after the war and describes the attainment of increased prominence for Canada in the world's affairs.

WALLACE, W. S. *Canada in the Great War* (In volume 11 of *Pictorial history of the Great War* by S. J. DUNCAN-CLARK. Toronto: John A. Hertel Company. 1919). A well-illustrated sketch in 128 pages of the formation, growth, and accomplishments of the Canadian Corps in France, with some mention of the minor units and of the government and civilian war effort at home. Of no particular military value but a good summary for civilians.

WOOD, W. *Canada in the World War* (Cambridge history cited above, chapter xxxi). A sketch chiefly of conditions in Canada with some mention of military operations. The author adopts without question the official apologies for failures.

(6) Studies in Organization and Operations

Artillery

McNAUGHTON, A. G. L. *The development of artillery in the Great War* (Canadian defence quarterly, Jan., 1929).

Cavalry

COWAN, W. J. *A squadron on its own* (Cavalry journal (British), July, 1928, reprinted in Canadian defence quarterly, Oct., 1928). Details regarding the raid of "B" Squadron, Fort Garry Horse, at Cambrai, November, 1917.

PITMAN, T. T. *The part played by the British cavalry in the surprise attack on Cambrai, 1917* (Cavalry journal (British), July, 1923, reprinted in Canadian defence quarterly, Oct., 1923). An account of the work of the British cavalry units in this operation, which included the Canadian Cavalry Brigade.

STRACHAN, H. *A squadron on its own* (Cavalry journal (British), April, 1927, reprinted in Canadian defence quarterly, July, 1928). An account antecedent to the above article by Captain Cowan, dealing with the same raid.

Engineers

WEATHERBE, K. and YOUNG, A. C. *Mining operations at Hill 60* (Ypres times, July, 1930).

Infantry

FOSTER, W. H. A. *Condé's column* (Canadian defence quarterly, Oct., 1932). A detailed description of a Canadian raid.

HILTZ, H. H. *The Battle of Sanctuary Wood* (Ypres times, April, 1932).

PHELAN, F. R. *Army supplies in the forward area and the hump-line system* (Canadian defence quarterly, Oct., 1928). An account of the saving in man-power effected by the adoption of a Canadian device.

PYE, E. *The barrier* (Ypres times, Oct., 1933). An account of the struggle near the Douve River in December, 1915, conducted by various Canadian units until the writer's battalion, the 5th, proved successful.

(7) Periodicals

The legionary. Ottawa: Published by the Canadian Legion.

The listening post. Montreal: Herald Press for the 7th Battalion Association.

The brazier. Moose Jaw. A small magazine published quarterly by the 16th Battalion Association, the issue of December, 1933, being no. 26.

The Twenty-first Battalion communique. Annual magazine issued by the association, Peterborough; now in its third volume.

The forty-niner. A semi-annual issued by the 49th Battalion Association in Edmonton.

The Canadian veteran. Issued at York Building, King Street West, Toronto. A well-edited monthly now in its second year. Not an official journal, but evidently in close association with the Army and Navy Veterans of Canada,

The Ypres times. A quarterly founded by the Ypres League in 1921. Present address, 20 Orchard Road, London.

In addition to occasional articles of importance, all these magazines contain anecdotes and small reminiscences, chiefly of personal interest to members of their associations.

(8) Miscellaneous

BIRD, W. R. *The prisoners who cannot escape* (Ypres times, July, 1932). Article concerning chiefly Dan Dick of the C.M.R.'s.

The communication trench. Montreal: Perrault Printing Company. 1933. A medley of anecdotes and statistics for the benefit of soldiers. Sometimes Mr. Bird is clearly "pulling the leg" of his reader; at other times he relates incidents of some historical interest.

Canada magazine: Canada victory souvenir. London: The magazine. 1919. Forty-odd of the Canadian official photographs.

[CANADIAN ARTILLERY ASSOCIATION.] *Officers who served overseas in the Great War with the Canadian artillery.* Ottawa: The association. 1922. A professedly complete list of officers, with promotions, wounds, and decorations.

HOPKINS, J. C. *The Province of Ontario in the war.* Toronto: Warwick Bros. and Rutter, Ltd. 1919. A brief account of the war effort of the province.

[ONTARIO DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.] *Annals of valor.* Toronto: The department. 1919. A survey of Canadian military achievements with some tales of heroism, intended for school use.

VAUGHN, H. H. *The manufacture of munitions in Canada.* Ottawa: Engineering Institute of Canada. 1919. A presidential address containing a well-illustrated account of the making of munitions.

Of some importance also are two posters issued at Mons; one from the burgomaster and aldermen to the population, announcing the deliverance of the city by the Third Canadian Division; and one from Major-General Loomis and Brigadier-General Clark to the burgomaster and aldermen. These were printed by Arthur Princelle, 28 rue de Houdain, Mons. A citizen of Mons published a pamphlet shortly after the armistice describing the capture by the Third Division; but this the reviewer has been unable to trace.

REVIEW ARTICLE

THE POLITICAL CAREER OF SIR GEORGE FOSTER

TO the list of Canadian political biographies the *Memoirs of Sir George E. Foster*¹ by Mr. W. Stewart Wallace is a notable addition. By any test that can be applied Sir George's right to a place among the first half-dozen notabilities in the political generation that has just passed is confirmed. In point of actual time given to the service of his country, he is in first place. For twenty-one years he was a minister of the crown—a record unapproached in the history of the dominion parliament. For about sixteen of these years he was, in the various governments in which he served, the ranking member after the prime minister. The leadership of the party, in which he held such high rank, changed six times during his active political career; yet upon not one of these occasions was he a contender for the leadership either at his own instance or at the demand of followers. These facts, considered in their entirety, give the political measure of the man. He was a valued member of the party: his services were regarded as indispensable by his colleagues, particularly after they had been obliged to get along without them for the whole of one parliament; he was loaded with honours; and in his later years when his temperament had mellowed and softened, he commanded a measure of affection and regard which overran party lines. These were tributes to the qualities that were native to him: a constant adherence to moral principles and political philosophies to which he had committed himself; a willingness to do battle for them; and facility in discussion in all its forms. He was at home in the cut and thrust methods of controversy at close range in parliament; no one could make a stronger case for his side by a set speech in the Commons or on the hustings; and he was equally at home in the academic discussion of abstract questions calling for high intellectual qualities.

I was interested in Sir George E. Foster's career as a public man because I saw it in its making. I became a member of the press gallery of the House of Commons in the session of 1884. That was George E. Foster's second session; but he had already emerged from the ruck of new members who had come in with the general election of 1882. The Conservatives were taking note of him; and likewise the Liberals. Some of the Liberals felt that Foster, in the language of to-day, had put one over on them. They claimed that he had been elected by Liberal votes in the general election of 1882 when he contested King's, New Brunswick, as an independent against the Conservative candidate; and apparently they had counted upon him to gravitate to the opposition benches. Mr. Wallace writes of him as a detached member and mentions the "independent" support which he for three sessions gave the government of Sir John A. Macdonald. But in the session of 1884 by all the known political tests he was indistinguishable from the ordinary party member. He sat in the deep centre of the ministerial group of members; his desk-

¹The *Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Sir George Foster, P.C., G.C.M.G.* By W. Stewart Wallace. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1933. Pp. vi, 291. (\$3.50).

mate and intimate associate was young Charles Hibbert Tupper; and when he intervened in debate in 1884, and this was still more the case in 1885, it was to state the government's case or to defend it from attack more competently than the task could be done by anybody on the ministerial benches proper. In this there was, of course, nothing reprehensible. Mr. Foster allied himself with the government forces because the government's policy was congenial to him. He was consciously and openly shaping himself for a political career during those sessions; and his progress towards his goal was marked by the increasing attention paid to him by Sir John when he was speaking. The old chieftain, when Foster was on his feet, would turn in his chair and follow him with keen attention.

There came a time in the great franchise debate in the session of 1885 when, after a continuous sitting of three days, during which time no member on the ministerial side opened his lips, the government took the offensive by putting up three champions in succession, all picked from the ranks of the private members. While in the eyes of a young and doubtless prejudiced member of the press gallery, Edward Blake, in replying, made rather a show of the three champions, the ministerial forces were plainly delighted by their performances. Within six months two of them were members of the government. George Foster thus entered the government three years after he forced his way into parliament by wresting a seat from a supporter of that government. He was then in his thirty-eighth year. He had won his way by his speaking qualities; and in the heavy battling of the next two years leading up to the general election of 1887 he justified his selection. Sir John A. Macdonald, who was no mean judge, was reported, no doubt correctly, as saying that before a popular audience Foster was the most effective speaker in the government forces. The qualification will be noted, "before a popular audience". Foster was most formidable on the platform where the oratorical arts and expedients which he had perfected by years of experience as a public lecturer gave him great power over his hearers. In the parliamentary arena before a different audience his style of speaking and his method of developing his argument were not so effective, though this is not to be interpreted as suggesting that he was not a formidable figure in parliament both in attack and defence.

When I first heard Foster speak in parliament in 1884, I noted his distinctive way of putting his argument—a way obviously derived from his experience as a lecturer. I last heard him in October, 1927, when before a crowded audience in the Walker Theatre, Winnipeg, he made a telling case for the League of Nations and collective peace. The old method was still in good working order. He carried on a dialogue, Socratic in character, with a supposed opponent of the League; and, certainly, the critic of the League cut a very sorry figure by the time Sir George was through with him. Being called upon to express the thanks of the audience to Sir George, I was able to say in all sincerity to the veteran in his eightieth year that I could see in his address no diminution in the power and effectiveness which had impressed me forty-three years earlier. Mr. Wallace in his book gives some examples of Sir George's methods of appeal; in them the challenging, questioning

line of attack is very clearly shown. Sir George became, very early in his official career, the outstanding advocate and gladiator for his party; and his party gave him plenty of work to do in exposition, attack, and defence, over a long spell of years in parliament and outside it. It would be safe to say that no other public man of his generation approached him in the number and variety of his public addresses. It may well be that Sir George's facility in discussion and his willingness at any time to put on his armour and ride into the lists gave the public a general impression about him which was not altogether just. Mr. Wallace tries valiantly to establish Sir George's right to be regarded as a fashioner of policies and an administrator of the first rank. This is not the impression which he made on his contemporaries, both friendly and hostile; this is not the tradition which survives in the departments he administered. The judgment of his times was that he gave so much of his talent to argument that it was not possible for him to make a large contribution in other respects.

It was his position as party gladiator during the years of Liberal dominance that led, in the parliament of 1904-8, to the attacks upon him with regard to the investment of the funds of the Order of Foresters. Here Mr. Wallace makes a passionate defence of his hero. Looking back over a quarter of a century, it can be readily seen that he and the other Conservatives who were also involved in the Union Trust transactions were attacked with a violence and malignity which, upon a reasonable interpretation of the revealed facts, were not justified. But they were the victims of the rowdy political methods of that period of which they were themselves apt practitioners. This parliament, from the first session to the last, was given over to the exploitation of "scandal". It did not require much evidence to supply the foundation for a towering case of innuendo or accusation. Both political parties were busily engaged in "discovering" scandals and attacking the reputations of their opponents. The government was in the first instance the attacked party; but when the judicial investigation into the insurance companies brought out the facts of the investment policies of the Union Trust for which Mr. Foster was responsible, the same tactics of innuendo, exaggeration, and unrelieved denunciation were resorted to by the government's defenders; and with very deadly effect. There is plenty of contemporary evidence of a convincing character that there was nothing much to choose between the methods of the two parties. Thus Stephen Leacock, writing in the *National review* of January, 1909, said: "Failing principles the Conservatives fell back on personalities. A hailstorm of accusation beat against the Liberal party. A tempest of counter-accusation was raised in return. Cries of 'thief', 'grafter', 'corruptionist' rose loud above the din of battle. The Canadian pot called the Canadian kettle black. When the storm-cloud of the elections swept past, the wreckage of the Conservative party strewn the field." It is not possible, however, to regard the Union Trust incident as a wholly malign partisan invention, as Mr. Wallace suggests. The actual facts can be ascertained by the careful reading of Mr. Foster's speech of defence delivered in parliament on April 10, 1907, and the very judicial and restrained comment upon it by Sir Allen Aylesworth, then minister of justice, on the same day.

The Conservative victory of 1911 brought Mr. Foster to quieter waters and happier times. To the triumph of his party he made a substantial contribution. Among leading Conservatives he was first to declare his opposition to the Fielding pact. Had he not been a right-hand man of Joseph Chamberlain in the great speaking campaign in Great Britain? Preferential trade within the empire based upon the adoption by Great Britain of a protective tariff had long been (as it continued to be) one of the causes to which he gave passionate support. He saw, quite rightly, that reciprocity would put difficulties in the way of the Chamberlain project; and his opposition to it by both the spoken and written word was as effective as it was sincere. Much against his will he suffered, after the return of his party to power, the fate of Sir Richard Cartwright in 1896; he was denied the ministership of finance and given a portfolio which was much less contentious in the contribution which it made to the business of the House. Mr. Foster, who was then in his sixty-fourth year, accepted his disappointment philosophically as a release from the duties which he had so long performed, as the first swordsman for his party. Then began his later career which revealed a new Foster to the public and to his opponents—a kindly and wise “elder statesman” whose patriotism and sincerity none could question. This was the real Foster as Mr. Wallace's book makes reasonably plain. Very indicative of the change in feeling among his former opponents was the revelation in 1917, when union government was in the making, of their willingness to accept him as the leader of the administration. But then as before he submitted to the limitation which he recognized as early as 1888 when, writing to the lady who was afterwards his wife, he said: “My friends here are very proud and very enthusiastic and nothing will suit them now but the ‘head place’ by and by. In that they must prepare for disappointment, for I shall not gain that place for them. I know my limitations and I shall not look to go too far. I know what your fond rejoinder would be, but then I know you too.” But honours which he desired and appreciated and responsibilities which he welcomed came to him in abundance: K.C.M.G., 1914; imperial privy councillor, 1916; G.C.M.G., 1918; Canadian delegate to the Peace Conference, 1919; thrice a delegate to the League of Nations. When in 1920 he gave up his office and entered the Senate he noted in his diary: “I have to-day signed my warrant of political death.” But long years of usefulness lay before him, particularly in relation to the cause of peace. He brought to the discussions in the Senate about the League and other international matters an elevated point of view removed both from domestic party considerations and nationalist prepossessions. Very notable was his protest, at the great Conservative Convention in Winnipeg in October, 1927, against the adoption of a resolution upon immigration which he regarded as likely to lead to misunderstandings with the nations of the Orient.

Mr. Wallace's treatment of the story of Sir George Foster's life is competent; and upon many points his book will be accepted as an authority. It is very free from slips; though on page 44 there is one mistake that might well be corrected. Foster first impressed the House by a speech, in the session of 1883, in support of a bill making seduction

a punishable offence, introduced by that redoubtable Puritan Liberal, John Charlton. The bill is credited, in Mr. Wallace's book, to W. A. Charlton, a younger brother of John, who entered parliament thirty years later.

Mr. Wallace's labours in compiling the *Memoirs* were lightened by Sir George's commendable custom of keeping a diary. He also saved his letters; and left the beginning of an autobiography. From all these sources Mr. Wallace draws material of great interest and high historical value. The intimation is given that there are still treasures here which can only be drawn on after the due passage of time. The public can, therefore, look forward to further publication of material illustrative of the times in which Sir George Foster lived and enlightening as to the part he played in the great events with which his name is connected.

J. W. DAFOE

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Old Province of Quebec. By ALFRED LEROY BURT. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1933. Pp. xiii, 551. (\$6.00)

WITH this book, Professor Burt has filled a real gap in our "five-foot" shelf of Canadian history. He has produced a volume based almost exclusively on documentary material, much of which is used for the first time; such material he has submitted to searching and critical analysis by which he has been able to sift the grain of truth from the chaff of assumption. As a result he has unearthed facts, views, and policies, which when brought together throw quite a different light on events and men of the period. As a matter of fact, this book will force on the reader, nay, on the scholar, a re-classification of a number of traditional opinions and judgments so far, and too long, accepted as definitive conclusions. The narrative's interest is still enhanced by the author's style—lucid and stimulating—capable, according to occasion, of vigour, humour, or emotion. Taken together, story and style, the book, breaking away from any drab succession of facts and dates, restores and reflects the psychological complexes and reactions of the times, with the leaders moving in the foreground of political and national aspirations.

However substantial a piece of work in several respects, Professor Burt's book does not pretend to be an exhaustive story of the period. Though several chapters are devoted to war, Loyalists, trade and finance, its main theme is the political evolution of Canada between 1759 and 1791, which centres round the Quebec Act. Of the inception, reception, and deception of this so-called French-Canadian Magna Carta, Professor Burt has given us a remarkable disquisition in which he displays an extensive knowledge of his subject and a penetrating comprehension of the factors and factions at play. History has justified the Quebec Act. With it, Canada was, after all, preserved for the empire; without it, French Canadians would not have been assimilated, as shown by the case of the Acadians. But its great merit is rightly pointed out by the author when he says: "the Quebec Act embodied a new principle of the British Empire: the liberty of non-English peoples to be themselves." So total a liberty was it that it allowed in an age of intolerance a Catholic and French population to retain its laws and even a religion which was not legally permitted to British-born subjects in England.

The period covered by the book is dominated by the three great governors, Murray, Carleton, and Haldimand. To two of them, Murray and Haldimand, it is pleasing to see Professor Burt rendering the full mead of praise which they have occasionally been refused though they are so deservedly entitled to it. Murray is the man who, more gloriously than Wolfe, effected the moral conquest of Canada and by his fair treatment of the conquered Canadians reconciled them to their new fate. He again is the man who sowed the seeds which were to ripen into the Quebec Act. Thanks to that arch-liar, Du Calvet, Haldimand has been, especially by French-Canadian historians, unjustly appreciated. A man of sound judgment and broad-minded views, he safely steered the ship

of state during the last years of the war and discharged very successfully the task of establishing the Loyalists in Canada.

As to Carleton, Professor Burt has certainly, and perhaps definitively, lowered his stature by a few feet. His intentions no doubt were of the best, but he certainly blundered in civil as well as in military matters. He denied their rights to the British minority and assumed high-handed authority. In 1775 he missed his chance of driving the Americans out of the country and in 1776 let their troops slip out of Canada with his opportunity of probably dealing an almost fatal blow to the rebellion. Still Carleton cannot be refused the merit of fathering the Quebec Act and successively defending Canada against the American invasion.

The incidental chapters of the book are not less illuminating. In them readers are supplied, if not extensively, at least sufficiently, with the essential facts and evolution of each question, though one would have liked more information on the fur-trade and the differences between French and English tenures. Here perhaps one must note amongst other things that the author was trapped by the *Quebec herald* into an overstatement about the Catholic Church requiring from candidates to the priesthood a real estate title of £300. First, it was not always so, and besides it was not £300 or \$1,500 but 300 *livres* or \$60. This caution against the possibility of a priest becoming a charge to the clergy was very seldom translated into an actual fact.

To close this review, special praise must be given to Professor Burt for his most interesting bibliography of primary sources, in which the only important omission is the precious *Journal* of Baby, Taschereau, and Williams. The part on manuscript material will be welcomed by all students. But it is all the more to be regretted that he has broken in his references the essential rule of indicating not only the source but also the authorship and date of the document quoted, which alone permit the reader to appreciate the value of the statements. To refer, for instance, to "B. vol. 54, p. 314" leaves one absolutely in the dark as to the worth of the authority quoted. As it stands, however, the book is one of the outstanding contributions of the year to Canadian history.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

Select Documents Illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus. Edited by CECIL JANE. Vol. I: *The First and Second Voyages*. Vol. II: *The Third and Fourth Voyages*, with a supplementary introduction by E. G. R. TAYLOR. London: The Hakluyt Society. 1930 and 1932. Pp. cl, 167; lxxxiv, 143.

MR. CECIL JANE'S death is a great loss to Columbian scholarship and both the introductions and translations printed in these two volumes show how thoroughly, in spite of his youth, he had mastered this whole subject. One realizes also his constant endeavour to weigh the pros and cons of the various theories concerning Columbus's life and exploits and to try also in every way to reach a just conclusion. A certain verbosity was perhaps unavoidable in such lengthy discussions but on the whole these introductions are probably the fairest statement of the Columbian position at present available anywhere.

It must, however, be admitted that the impression given to the reader

is that Columbus was not altogether a very prepossessing figure. In the first place, Mr. Jane rejects the authenticity of the map unearthed at the Bibliothèque Nationale by M. Charles de la Roncière and is of opinion that Columbus was more of a trader than a skilled navigator. Although M. de la Roncière insists upon the fact that Columbus was a trader, he yet gives many proofs to show that this map was made by Columbus and your reviewer, having been privileged to examine this map in company with M. de la Roncière himself, has no hesitation in accepting it as an authentic specimen of Columbus's work. In this connection, it is perhaps worth while to bear in mind the words of Andres Bernaldez, Columbus's friend, that he was *muy diestro de la arte de la cosmographia*. In fact Mr. Jane might perhaps have shortened considerably his dissertation on the intellectual qualities of Columbus had he paid more attention to Andres Bernaldez's statement (and he knew Columbus well) that although he had a good mind (*de muy alto ingenio*), he was quite unlearned (*sin saber muchas letras*).

Mr. Edmond Buron in his edition of the *Imago Mundi* (Paris, 1931) stated that the Toscanelli problem was still an enigma and such seems to be the conclusion reached by Mr. Jane. When the late Henri Vignaud presented a copy of his Toscanelli volume to Henry Harrisse, it was reported in Paris that it bore the dedication "to the fortunate discoverer of the Toscanelli forged letters"! In any event the results of Vignaud's volumes are very apparent in Mr. Jane's introductions and, of course, there is something to be said for Vignaud's conclusions although most scholars seem to be of opinion that he has pushed them rather too far. In fact, once Vignaud was started on this path nothing seemed to be able to stop him and he rather exaggerated his theories in the end.

To state, however, as does Mr. Jane that the notes in the chapters of Pierre d'Ailly's *Imago Mundi* seem rather "to predate than antedate the discovery" is hardly true. In the *De legibus et rectis* he speaks "of this present year 1491" while in the *History of Paul II*, the year mentioned is 1481. The fact that Columbus sailed from the Canaries is clearly based on d'Ailly's statement that Africa was nearer to the east than Spain, and there would not have been much sense after reaching Watling Island, in writing note 24 to the effect that, according to Pliny, the Atlantic could be crossed in a few days. In fact in the compendium the text has *paucissimis diebus*. There are other notes to the effect that Spain was not far distant from India, e.g., *Inde est prope Hispania* which could have had no meaning once the first voyage had succeeded.

Mr. Jane seems to think as did Vignaud that Columbus was seeking a mainland near the equator; but if one follows his journal carefully, one sees not only that his chief objective was gold, but also that in the case of nearly every change of direction and of alteration in his course, Columbus was guided by what he understood the savages to say regarding the principal sites of the gold-mines. This would confirm the theory of M. de la Roncière that Columbus was sent out mainly in the hope of finding gold and that such was the principal object he had in view. His letters of introduction to the Grand Khan show that he hoped to find these riches in the east, as he had read in Marco Polo.

Mr. Jane is quite right in declaring that the work of Las Casas cannot

be treated as very trustworthy for the early period of the discoverer's life and is a case of special pleading; but his attack on this most worthy prelate seems rather overdone. Mr. MacNutt's life of Las Casas¹ would seem to give a much fairer picture of the apostle of the Indians.

Mr. Jane's early death prevented him from completing his introduction to volume II but Professor E. G. R. Taylor has added a very illuminating account of "Columbus and the world-map", wherein she displays her very thorough knowledge of the geography of this period. Altogether these three introductory essays form a most valuable study of Columbus's early life and ideas and the Hakluyt Society deserves great credit for their publication.

All these writers who have brought Christopher Columbus down from the pedestal erected by Navarrette and Washington Irving seem to overlook the fact that, after all, a poor itinerant Italian book-seller and map-maker succeeded in imposing pretty severe terms upon Ferdinand and Isabella and eventually in bringing his project to a successful conclusion, whether or not he ever announced that he had reached India. Christopher Columbus, the son of a poor weaver of Genoa, did discover America and whether this was done by accident or design, it was one of the greatest results ever achieved by any single individual in history. The modern school seems to have a tendency to discuss at great length minor points of detail and this is all to the good; but to anyone who has had the privilege of visiting La Rabida and even identifying the chapel of Nuestra Señora de la Cinta where Columbus made a pilgrimage after being saved from the terrible storms encountered upon his return voyage, he will always remain a great navigator and a great discoverer, as well as a very real personage. To say that he entered the Tagus on purpose, because Pinzon was unable to reach Andalusia, is not correct: for Pinzon had to take refuge in Galicia. By all means let us discuss every point of Columbus's achievement but let us also remember that it *was* a great achievement carried out by a foreigner in the face of extraordinary difficulties.

The documents relating to Columbus's four voyages are for the most part those already published by the society in 1847 and 1870 but the texts are taken from those printed in the *Raccolta Colombiana* with fresh translations made by Mr. Jane. These are extremely well done and are most readable. The notes are excellent and show how familiar was Mr. Jane with all the latest literature on this subject. The work he must have put into these volumes was very great. Of course the various studies published in the *Raccolta* have furnished the editor with much of his material, but his knowledge of the times seems very extensive and his comparisons with other contemporary events of the period show that he had made a very wide study of the subject.

Only one or two slips have been noticed and no doubt these cannot be attributed to the late Mr. Jane. On page lxi of volume II, "Forseca" should be "Fonseca" and on page lxxiii "Pablo Toscanelli" should surely be "Paulo". On page xxxiv of volume I the reference to a third volume is clearly intended for volume II, page 108; for the president has informed me that a third volume was never contemplated by the society.

H. P. BIGGAR

¹F. A. MacNutt, *Bartholomew de Las Casas* (New York, 1909).

The Works of Samuel de Champlain. In six volumes, reprinted, translated, and annotated under the general editorship of H. P. BIGGAR. Volume V: 1620-1629. Translated by the late W. D. LE SUEUR; the French texts collated by J. HOME CAMERON. Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1933. Pp. xvii, 330.

THIS volume covers the period from 1620 to 1629 of the edition of Champlain published in Paris in 1632, which has never before been translated into English. The French text is in a bad state; either it was carelessly printed, and the proof badly read, if at all, or the manuscript may never have received final revision. Professor Cameron has done his best to secure a good text by collating a number of copies, and also several of the 1640 reprint. Not only has he thus improved the text, but he has also been enabled to make a few corrections in the translation of Mr. Le Sueur, though this was in general left in excellent shape at the death of the translator.

One or two points may be noted. In his preface Mr. Biggar says that "Champlain returned to Canada in the summer of 1632", and gives his absence from France as a possible reason for the faultiness of the text. But Champlain was in France all through 1632, and did not leave for Canada till March, 1633, so that we shall have to look elsewhere for a reason for his carelessness. In a personal letter, recently received, Mr. Biggar points out that on page 313 he has made a slip in identifying certain Indians with the Etchemins, as Champlain's map makes plain that they were Abenakis. In a note on page 171 he says that Cape Boutonnières was probably Fame Point. He is now, though doubtfully, disposed to identify it with Anse de l'Etang.

But these are trifles. The volume is in every way a delight. The text is as good as we shall ever have; the translation and notes are scholarly; the printing, binding, and paper carry on the high tradition of the society.

W. L. GRANT

Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia or New France. By the Sieur de DIÈREVILLE. Edited with notes and introduction by JOHN CLARENCE WEBSTER. Translated by Mrs. CLARENCE WEBSTER. (Publications of the Champlain Society, XX.) Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1933. Pp. xv, 324.

THIS is the twentieth of the publications of the Champlain Society, not including the edition of Champlain, which is for more general circulation.

Dièreville was the last Frenchman to write of Acadia before it was captured by the British in 1710. His book was published at Rouen in 1707, and pirated at Amsterdam in 1710. He was a young surgeon, who sailed from La Rochelle for Port Royal in 1699 on a business venture, which proved unprofitable. He stayed in Acadia for about a year, and shortly after his return was appointed surgeon to l'Hospice de Pont-l'Evêque, in the Department of Calvados. His book is in no sense a serious history, but a chatty book of travels, written by a man of some culture, interested in himself, in his travels, his adventures and misadventures, interested also as a medical man in the most intimate details of Indian life, and not without a touch of *Gauloiserie*. It has the curious

quality of being written partly in prose and partly in verse, a quality which Mrs. Webster has admirably reproduced in her translation. Apparently he had originally stuck wholly to verse, but at the bidding of his friends "immolated close on five thousand of my little ones", so that we now have about 3,177 lines of prose, and 2,529 of verse.

Though not without a traveller's credulity, Dièreville was, after the fashion of his day, a shrewd observer, and has the honour of having brought back to France a new plant, a species of bush honeysuckle, which has ever since been known as *Diervilla*.

The book is in every way worthy of the Champlain Society, and is enriched with copies of maps, title-pages, etc. To edit the work of a former medical man on Acadia has evidently been a labour of love to Dr. and Mrs. Webster.

W. L. GRANT

Inventaire des jugements et délibérations du Conseil Supérieur de la Nouvelle-France, de 1717 à 1760. Par PIERRE-GEORGES ROY. Volumes II and III. (Archives de la Province de Québec.) Beauceville: L'Eclaireur, limitée. 1933. Pp. 321; 322.

THE new volumes of *Jugements et délibérations* are rich in detailed and usefully calendared material. Volume II comprises six *cahiers* from June 28, 1728 to July 2, 1733, including a *cahier* of criminal cases from June 16, 1730 to December 29, 1759. The third volume carries the civil cases through fourteen *cahiers* to January 9, 1741. A vast amount of the business recorded here deals with family disputes over guardianship, division of property, and marriage settlements with their consequent problems; also with pioneer problems of disputed walls, fences, chimneys, and costs of construction. Letters of majority to young men and women are frequently registered.

Appeals are brought from the three royal jurisdictions and from the Admiralty. As in earlier years, cases are frequently referred to members of the council for preliminary hearing. These include the clerical councillor (II, 108) and the registrar (III, 148). Registration continues as usual—of *arrêts* of the Council of State, of king's declarations and regulations, including frequent *arrêts* of appointment to office in Canada. The formal installation of senior civil officers and of all members and employees of the council is recorded. Concessions of seignories are registered more frequently after 1732, especially in the Lake Champlain district, as well as a few grants in Quebec town. Two subfeifs are also registered (III, 54, 133). This is rare.

Captains of militia are increasingly referred to, especially as arbiters, or as appointers of arbiters, in boundary disputes or in assessing prices. One captain is found as a collector of his seigneur's *rentes* and another, an habitant, is guardian for his late seigneur's children (III, 125-6, 175-6, 185). A meeting of habitants attempting to take official action is invalidated and such meetings forbidden (III, 172-3). Junior courts, both in regard to their judges and their counsel, are held to strict procedure and sound law (the Prevoty, II, 44, 51, 74, 223; III, 296, 301-2; Montreal, III, 242; Three Rivers, II, 277). Notaries are frequently corrected or

reprimanded, especially in regard to improper terms in their papers. An attempt, begun by Dupuy, to tidy up notarial records is continued. Forced sales and auctions are among the commonest cases coming to the council, but junior courts are forbidden to order such sales and these cannot take place by virtue of a notarial act unconfirmed by the Superior Council (II, 74, 134, 255; III, 32-3).

The economic historian will find scattered details of interest. Several stated prices may be valuable: prices of land (II, 12, 53, 54, 223), prices of houses (II, 12, 267, 269, 272; III, 66, 67, 68, 203, 239), the price of a schooner (II, 226), cost of subsistence (III, 97, 172), and the rate of wages, including that of a nurse (III, 110, 200-1).

Food shortages always provoked legislation and regulation, and those of 1729 were taken as precedents for 1734 and 1737. The council took the initiative at Quebec and was effective (II, 56-64). Partly as a result of experience at that time closer regulation of butchers and bakers followed. The regulation of food supplies in Quebec during the near famine of 1737 was effected largely through these measures. Enforcement at Montreal led to appeals to the council (II, 99-107 *passim*, 138, 219-20; III, 163-3, 170-85 *passim*).

The genealogist will have a happy and provoking time with these volumes. Lists of bakers (II, 59), of butchers (II, 100), and of concessionaires in Detroit (III, 106, 208) are of value. The most numerous of foreign names are English. Twelve different British names appear among the civil cases, and no fewer than fifteen—mostly Irish unfortunately—among the criminal. Four at least of these were hanged. More famous names occur: Céloron de Blainville seems to have had an unfortunately litigious career, and the famous Madeleine de Verchères with her husband loses an appealed case against a parish priest. A further misfortune of the businesslike Abbé Lepage seems to have been overlooked by M. Fauteux (III, 30).¹

The criminal records are the most informative that we have in print. It is gentle reading compared to the contemporary Newgate Calendar. An increase in crime is indicated after 1750, but it is well to remember that the council was a court of appeal and we can draw no statistical evidence on crime from its proceedings. The king's declaration of 1732 in regard to searching religious houses is registered (II, 287). This had been prompted by the "Niagara sedition case" involving Father Césaire of Montreal. It led later to a fruitless protest by Bishop Dosquet.²

Brevets of pardon for accidental homicide or after acquittal in Canada had to be obtained from France before the accused received complete freedom. Acquittals on appeal to the council occasionally occurred. But the council was sometimes more severe than the lower court, especially in the case of a suicide (II, 139-40).

Hanging among both sexes was not uncommon. Women were generally flogged publicly first and required to make public and humiliating confession. The hanging of men was, of course, the more common. Effigies

¹J.-N. Fauteux: *Essai sur l'industrie au Canada* (Quebec, 1927), II, cap. 1.

²The Public Archives of Canada, *Correspondance générale*, B 57¹, 212-4, 239-42; C¹¹ 62, pp. 87-9.

were hanged when the convict escaped, and accomplices of the victim might be required to witness his fate. Drawing and quartering was ordered only once and for a peculiarly brutal murder, and there was a tendency not to hang for ordinary theft. Forging paper money sometimes drew the capital penalty. Theft from churches occurred several times. Domestic theft always drew the full penalty, as well as infanticide and occasionally concealment of birth without murder. Minor offences led to the stocks: chicken-thieves so exposed on the market would have a warm morning. Torture was not unknown, but in some cases where ordered by the lower court was stopped by the council (II, 147, 150, 172, 210). Convicts were occasionally deported. Among them a Pawnee slave, apparently without compensation to the owner. A negress slave also was hanged for arson. Two different criminals appear before the council with the nickname *Prestàboire*—a name that should not be forgotten. And something that may be flavoured with the spirit of a true *Beggars' opera* is suggested by entries on pages 174, 179, 180, and 181.

As usual these volumes are excellent in type and format. Typographical errors are all insignificant and mostly concern accents and punctuation. Some references in the calendar would be more useful if the subject of the dispute were given as well as the names and the court whence it came. This is done, however, in many and presumably all the more valuable cases.

H. M. THOMAS

I Santi Martiri Canado-Americani della Compagnia di Gesù. By CELESTINO TESTORE. Soc. Tip. A. Macioce & Pisani—Isola del Liri. 1930. Pp. xii, 391. (L.14)

THIS is the story, now well known in Canada, of the martyrdom of the Canadian and American Jesuit missionaries, Brébeuf, Lalemant, Daniel, Garnier, Chabanel, Jogues, Goupil, and de la Lande. The sources from which Father Testore draws, with few exceptions, are not new to Canadians. The *Jesuit relations* and *Charlevoix* supply most of the source material for this book, as well as for the books mentioned in the bibliography. But there are two that are deserving of special notice, and with which Canadian readers are not generally familiar: these are a small volume published in Italian in 1653 called *Breve relatione d'alcune missioni de PP. della Compagnia di Gesù nella Nuova Francia del P. Francesco Gioseppe Bressani d.m.c.* Macerata, *Heredi Grisei*, and the other, a recent publication (Paris, 1924) by Georges Goyau, *Une épopée mystique: Les origines religieuses du Canada*. Of these two the former is of real historical value, written as it was by a contemporary of the martyrs, and within a few years of their terrible deaths. This latter shows how a prominent French writer of old France sets forth the epic tale of her valiant sons when New France was in the making.

But, while the book itself is quite readable, it does not add anything to what is already known concerning the Jesuit martyrs. However in part III, "Il trionfo dei martiri", it gives an interesting description of the shrine that has been erected at "Martyrs' Hill", near Midland, Ontario, where Old Fort Ste. Marie once stood, and of the thousands

of pilgrims that assemble there throughout the summer each year to pay respect to the memory of those brave heralds of the cross in the New World.

Brother MEMORIAN

The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State, and with the War Office and the Treasury, 1763-1775. Compiled and edited by CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER. Volume II. (Yale historical publications, manuscripts and edited texts, XII.) New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Oxford University Press. 1933. Pp. vi, 735. (\$5.00)

THE first volume of this work (reviewed in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XII, 1931, 314-6) contained letters from the commander in chief in North America to the secretaries of state. The first third of this second volume contains the westbound replies to these letters, taken for the most part from the Gage papers in the possession of Mr. W. L. Clements of Bay City, Michigan (not, as Professor Carter supposes, in the Clements' Library in Ann Arbor). Like the communications which they answer, these letters will be of interest to historians of the period, but will afford them few surprises. The remainder of the volume consists chiefly of eastbound letters from Gage to the secretaries at war and to the treasury, and is concerned with military administration rather than with policy. The originals (with some exceptions) are in the Public Record Office, with excellent office copies in the Gage papers. As there are thousands of documents in the latter collection touching on administration, the editor has been obliged, and will be obliged in later volumes, to proceed by methods of selection. He submits here a series very well designed to illustrate various aspects of the subject. There remain to be presented the westbound replies to these letters and the voluminous correspondence of Gage with civil and military officials in America, which are described as "in certain respects, the most interesting part of the collection". To print this domestic correspondence in full would be both unnecessary and impracticable. It might, however, be considered whether an extended calendar might not be of greater value than a selection.

The editorial work is excellent. Professor Carter gives us references not only to the letters included in his first volume, but to a multitude of related documents, printed and unprinted, as well as to secondary works. While usually omitting enclosures, he tells us what the enclosures are and where they may be found. The index to the series will be a first resort for military biography. To military historians in particular the volume will prove invaluable.

S. MORLEY SCOTT

Louisiana in French Diplomacy, 1759-1804. By E. WILSON LYON. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press. 1934. Pp. 268. (\$3.00)

THIS appears to be a doctoral thesis. After discussing the reasons for France ceding Louisiana to Spain in 1762, the author explains the seven years' delay of the actual transfer, showing that it was due to no reluc-

tance on the part of Spain to accept what she had earlier refused. He then points out how the American Revolution was followed by a revolution in the position of New Orleans. From being the centre of a cramped colony, it became the market and outlet for a rapidly expanding American society on "the western waters". As a consequence, France sought to recover what she had given away, and Mr. Lyon has unearthed a long and interesting document in which he finds the first significant suggestion of a retrocession. It was composed by Moustier, who represented France in the United States, and was forwarded to Montmorin in March, 1789. Spain was not to promise the restoration of the territory until 1800, when the new master of France was eager to get it that he might build a great American empire in which the Mississippi valley would be married to the French West Indies. But the yellow fever and the black population of St. Domingo wrecked Napoleon's plans, which were based upon a restoration of French authority in that island. According to the author, Napoleon decided to abandon America because of the disaster which overwhelmed Leclerc's army; and the sale of Louisiana, effected before Spain had made delivery, was rather the cause than the effect of the coming of war in Europe. Thus the Americans were surprised into purchasing an empire when all they wished was to buy a city.

Generally speaking the book is good, and yet it illustrates the danger incurred by an artificial limitation of a subject. The reader, if not the author, may get the illusion that he is seeing the whole when he is viewing only a part. In dealing with the post-Revolutionary desire to expel Spain from the mouth of the Mississippi, Mr. Lyon confines his attention to the possibility of France performing this service, and ignores the consideration then given to the possibility of Britain supplanting Spain and extending her commercial empire over the heart of the continent. Likewise, because of the limitation imposed by the title of his book, the author has failed to break away from the old tradition that Spain was reluctant to part with the colony and had to be coerced by Napoleon. Another scholar, delving deeper into Spanish sources, has exploded this belief in the April number of the *American historical review*. The index is also open to criticism. It is too much after the perfunctory French fashion to be of much use to the reader.

For the particularly attractive form of this volume, the University of Oklahoma Press deserves congratulation.

A. L. BURT

The Settlement of the United Empire Loyalists on the Upper St. Lawrence and Bay of Quinte in 1784: A Documentary Record. Transcribed and edited by Brigadier-General E. A. CRUIKSHANK. Toronto: Published by the Ontario Historical Society. 1934. Pp. xiv, 188. (\$2.00)

GENERAL CRUIKSHANK has issued many a valuable volume and he has bestowed many a generous gift upon various historical societies, but none has been more valuable or more generous than this collection of documents which recounts at first hand the sufferings of the Loyalists and describes the attempts to alleviate them made by that gallant Swiss gentleman and soldier, Sir Frederic Haldimand. What risks were taken

by this "real founder of Ontario", as Professor A. L. Burt has aptly called him in his admirable book *The old Province of Quebec* (Toronto, 1933), becomes clear from General Cruikshank's brief introduction. Under the necessity of dealing promptly and as effectively as might be with the distressing conditions which confronted him, Sir Frederic, without instructions from London, issued, on his own responsibility, rations and clothing to the Loyalists in their concentration camps, purchased from the Mississaugas and caused to be surveyed lands on which to settle them, saw to their removal, and ordered gardening and farming implements, as well as seed grain and cattle, to be distributed among them, and the rations to be continued for three years.

Dividing his subject into two parts, General Cruikshank treats of it under the headings "Exploration and survey" and "Settlement". The former brings upon the scene the surveyor-general, Major Samuel Holland, and his deputy, John Collins, Sir John Johnson, inspector of Loyalists and prospective lieutenant-governor of the proposed settlements, Edward Jessup, commander of the Rangers who bore his name, Justus Sherwood, Allan McDonell, Captain Joseph Brant, Captain W. R. Crawford commanding at Fort Frontenac or Cataraqui (Kingston), and, most important of all, Sir Frederic's private secretary, Captain (or Major) Mathews. There appear, as well, Michael Grass, the reputed finder of Cataraqui and Peter Van Alstyne, in neither of whom Sir Frederic seems to have taken so much stock as do people of the present day. The Mohawks also come into the story, as well as Sir John Johnson's adopted suggestion that the Highlanders of his Royal Yorkers be settled in Roman Catholic and Presbyterian groups.

How seigneurs in what we now call Quebec tried to lure the Loyalists to settle on their lands in preference to falling in with his excellency's plans, the dilatoriness of surveyors, their seeking out good locations for themselves regardless of the Loyalists' interests, the difficulties encountered in endeavouring to secure seed grain and cattle, are all set out. So also are the unauthorized issuance of supplies arising from the excessive tenderheartedness of the agents, the inability of the home authorities to comprehend the seriousness of the situation, their consequent instructions, to the dismay of the Loyalists, to diminish the quantity of the rations, and the objections raised to the indiscriminate manner of drawing for lots of land rather than allowing the officers to receive their allotments before their men.

With "each Individual considering His own Interest the Point He is to gain, and rating His own merit at the highest Price"—as Sir Frederic himself wrote to Sir John, it is hardly to be wondered at that some of his subordinates regarded the newcomers as "troublesome". He persisted in his impartiality and he insisted upon his orders as commander-in-chief being carried out. In addition he took steps toward having extended the term within which the Loyalists were to present their claims for compensation for war losses.

With provision of mills and other similar conveniences for the settlement Sir Frederic occupied himself. It flourished accordingly despite the superciliousness and the dilatoriness of sundry officials, which led to serious fears for a final dissolution in 1788, long after Sir Frederic's

return to England. That, however, is a different story, as, too, is the retention by the British of Forts Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, and Michilimackinac. "Until Indian Affairs are in a more settled state", wrote Sir Frederic, "and that our Traders in the Interior Country can withdraw their Property", he refused to deliver up these frontier posts; and his refusal was approved in Whitehall. But his notification of this fact to Sir John Johnson was for his "private satisfaction, and to make a prudent Use of with the Indians". He "would by no means, have the declaration of the Minister on that Head transpire, as it would soon find its way to the States, and, of course, be turned to bad account".

General Cruikshank has fortunately taken care to note after every letter, whether reproduced in full or otherwise, the source whence it derives. For this, as for the serviceable index, every student who wishes to follow matters further will be grateful. Many of the letters are but extracts, which some investigators will wish to read with their full context.

A. H. YOUNG

John Hay: From Poetry to Politics. By TYLER BENNETT. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co. 1933. Pp. 476. (\$3.75)

JOHN HAY was secretary of state in the United States at a critical time in relations with Great Britain and Canada. The United States was determined to build and control the Panama Canal and also to fix the frontier of Alaska on the basis of its own claims. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty gave Great Britain certain rights in regard to the canal and, while she was willing to meet the wishes of the United States, she hoped to bargain concessions made in this respect for a conciliatory policy on the Alaska boundary. At that time this was seemingly important to Canada on account of the search for gold in the Yukon. In regard to Alaska Canada was persistent. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the prime minister, feared the attacks of Sir Charles Tupper, the leader of the opposition, and, as Hay remarks, feared him much more than he feared the pressure of Lord Salisbury in England, or of President McKinley in the United States. In England Canada's case was thought to be weak and probably was, though, in the final trial, Lord Alverstone, the lord chief justice, agreed with his Canadian colleagues on the commission that tried the case and signed their joint finding. On the following day, however, for political, not judicial, reasons, he voted with the three American commissioners against the claim of Canada. He did this because of a threat from Mr. Roosevelt, privately communicated to the British government, of action on his part in case of disagreement that might have involved war.

It had not been of happy omen that, while a solution was pending, Theodore Roosevelt had become president of the United States. He was on record as saying that Canada had not a leg to stand on. He never wavered in this opinion and was impetuous in asserting it. In the end, however, he had consented to refer the case to a commission of six, three for each side, all the members to be "jurists of repute". Senator Henry Cabot Lodge hardly conformed to this description but Roosevelt insisted on his appointment, much to Hay's disgust. Hay himself,

though not perhaps a great man, was alert to the interests of the United States and firm in asserting them, while at the same time tactful and conciliatory in negotiation. The author of this book, himself a former official of the Department of State, indicates Hay's annoyance at Roosevelt's bullying interference in the negotiations. Later Roosevelt boasted that he had rejected every proposal made by Hay (p. 363). Roosevelt's most recent biographer, Mr. Pringle, describes him as anxious to be thought a sturdy American and ready for war with any power that had colonies in the western half of the world so that there the United States should be supreme. "He did not care with whom he fought so long as there was a scrap."¹ When in 1895 the Venezuelan question was pending and Great Britain was accused of challenging the Monroe doctrine, Roosevelt said that, in case of war, "we will settle the Venezuelan question . . . in Canada . . . Canada would surely be conquered, and, once wrested from England, it would never be restored."² In 1903, he played "the demagogue on an international scale for the sake of winning a presidential nomination" in 1904 (p. 401), and insisted that a decision on the Alaska boundary should be reached in time to be used for this purpose. He hoped for trouble about Alaska in order to show how strong he could be and was disappointed at the peaceful settlement. He was, says Mr. Bennett, spoiling for a quarrel with England (p. 360), and even threatened to break off negotiations and to ask Congress for an appropriation to delimit the frontier without regard to Canada's claim. "I am year by year", he said, "growing more confident that the country would back me in going to an extreme" (p. 400).

The United States, Canada's only neighbour, is the only nation with which she is likely to have intricate foreign relations and for this reason the book under review has significance. It is doubtful whether any other president of the United States has ever sunk to the level of Roosevelt in desiring conflict with a great power in order to aid his position at home by appeals to Jingo opinion. There is little doubt that, especially as against Great Britain, he could have won national support. War, he thought, would improve the spirit of the army and navy. He jeered at those who "screamed with anguish" at the loss of a couple of thousand men.³ A man of Roosevelt's type in power is a danger to peace. In another age, such as that of Henry VIII, he would have been as ruthless as that monarch in counting human life cheap.

Other disturbing things appear in this volume. Posterity will probably recognize Senator Lodge as a sinister figure in politics, tricky and infirm in mind and character as Hay said (p. 421). At mention of Lodge's name President Taft once held up his hands and cried "the spoilsman in politics". Hay notes Lodge's insistent demands for office for his relations and friends. When Hay was negotiating a treaty relating to the Newfoundland fisheries, to his great annoyance Lodge opposed the treaty. His son-in-law, Gardiner, was standing for Congress in Gloucester, Mass., and the Gloucester fishermen did not like the treaty. At the same time Lodge tried to breed discord between Newfoundland

¹Henry F. Pringle, *Life of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 1932), p. 171.

²*Ibid.*, p. 167.

³*Ibid.*, 176.

and Canada in the hope of annexing Newfoundland (p. 425). As late as the dispute about Alaska there was a strong desire in the United States to annex Canada. Probably it has now disappeared. It was with his own party that Hay had his most annoying difficulties. He expresses freely his disgust at the provision of the constitution that a minority of one-third in the Senate can reject any treaty. The Senate, he says, always repudiated the maxim of "give and take" in diplomacy and would take but never give (p. 288). He adds "I see absolutely no chance of any improvement" (p. 412).

Altogether this book is distressing in its implications as to the foreign policy of the United States and throws a rather lurid light on the two leaders, Lodge and Roosevelt, who considered themselves the aristocrats in politics. Mr. Bennett describes Roosevelt as untrustworthy in his statements (pp. 391, 408). Perhaps this was through mere impulsiveness though his opponents and even his friends did not place on this so charitable a construction. His friendships show that he was a man of great charm, but megalomania on the one hand and the hero-worship of less thoughtful people on the other make a man of his type an incalculable and dangerous element in international affairs. It is a bad combination of despotic monarchy and ignorant democracy.

GEORGE M. WRONG

Etudes économiques: Thèses présentées à la "Licence en Sciences commerciales". (Publications de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales de Montréal.) Volumes II and III. Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1932 and 1933. Pp. 453; 440. (\$2.50 per volume)

THESE two volumes contain twenty-one theses presented for the "Licence en Sciences commerciales". They deserve a very warm welcome. Almost all of them reach a high standard, and at least four are really valuable contributions to Canadian economic literature.

M. Durocher's treatment of the very difficult subject of "Road and rail competition in Canada" seems to me beyond praise; though anyone who has read the Drayton-Acworth report will be startled by his remark that the government, before taking over the lines forming the C.N.R., "made no inventory of the value of these companies or of their obligations to the public". M. Perron's "Chain stores" is so good and so timely that I should like to see it translated into English to reach a wider public. It might have a chastening effect on the admirers of small enterprise. M. La Tour has done an equally good piece of work on another complex subject, "The railway rates doctrine of the railway commission". M. Crevier's excellent "The bond market in Canada" makes the interesting suggestion of special "banques d'affaires" for the development of industry.

Of the other theses on Canadian subjects I should rate highest M. Bachand's "Mixed farming in western Canada"; on the whole a sober and sensible account, though it pays too little attention to the question of markets. But as M. Bachand's ideal for the prairies is a community of sturdy peasants, this omission is logical enough. It is a pity, however, that he did not take the trouble to inform himself as to the western farmer's present standard of living before exhorting him "to be satisfied with a less luxurious life". I commend to M. Bachand Mr. Britnell's article in a recent number of the *Canadian forum*.

M. Frenette's "Nationalization of railways in Canada" begins with some highly disputable observations on the sphere of state action, goes on to outline inadequately the process of nationalization of the C.N.R., and finishes with an admirable account of subsequent events to 1932, with suggestions for solving the problem. Many of his suggestions anticipate the recommendations of the Duff report. The bibliography disastrously omits the Drayton-Acworth report.

M. Beaulne's "The economic rôle of internal navigation in Canada" is a rambling survey, remarkable chiefly for the superficiality of its discussion of the St. Lawrence Waterway project. It makes no mention of Mr. Lesslie Thomson's study—by far the most valuable on the subject—its figures of cost are so vague as to be misleading, and it quotes M. Taschereau's palpable nonsense as if it were gospel. M. Beaulne, by the way, seems to think Mr. Bennett is from Ontario.

M. Roy's "Contemporary empire trade policy with an analysis of the results of the British Empire Economic Conference" is not very successful. It is pathetic to find any student of economics taking the "balance of trade" seriously; and the "analysis" of the results of the conference is so slight as to be quite valueless. M. Bélanger's "The Canadian tariff" suggests an ingenious method of capturing that will-o'-the-wisp, a "scientific" tariff, but as the whole idea is based on a hopeless misconception of the theory of international trade, it is hardly worth discussing. M. Bélanger should read *Tariffs: The case examined*, by Sir William Beveridge and others.

M. Gelly in "The evolution of Canada's international status" discusses a well-worn subject. His omission from his bibliography of Keith's *Sovereignty of the British dominions* and Corbett and Smith's *Canada and world politics* is unfortunate, for perusal of these works would have saved him from some of the errors into which he falls. He talks as if the supremacy of the imperial parliament rested on the Colonial Laws Validity Act and as if that act had "ceased to apply" by 1914; does not discuss the question of the application of sanctions by one member of the commonwealth against another under article 16 of the League Covenant; thinks the dominions can be neutral when Britain is at war; assumes that Lord Byng in 1926 did not act as the king would have acted in like circumstances, that the B.N.A. Act can be amended only by consent of the provinces, and that Canada is free to end appeals to the Privy Council when she pleases.

"Saving and the French-Canadians", by M. Larivière is interesting chiefly because it unconsciously exposes with such beautiful clarity the reasons for the excellent understanding between "la haute finance anglaise" and the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec. Whole passages could be inserted without change in a Communist pamphlet to illustrate the text, "Religion is the opium of the people". M. Larivière insists on "the great economic value of Christian mortification . . . which accustoms us to be content with little", and on the fact that "the Church is a very powerful agent [his own italics] of economic progress, since it makes Christian abnegation a duty". This is quite in the manner of Archbishop Gauthier's pastorals. So also are the repeated denunciations of the "luxury" in which the French-Canadian workman (on an estimated

income of \$1,500) and farmer have, it seems, been wallowing, despite the efforts of their spiritual advisers. The grimmest English middle-class moralists of the 1830's would have little to add to M. Larivière's views on shorter hours, higher wages, and the small amusements which make life bearable for the proletariat.

The rest of the theses do not call for much comment. "La Tuque and the upper St. Maurice" is a pleasant sketch. "The Eastern Townships", "Poland and its commercial relations with Canada", "Canada's maritime services", "The Canadian gold industry", "The Canadian metallurgical industry", "The united states of Europe", "The rôle of publicity in modern enterprise", are all competent but not exciting. "Concentration of capital, its economic and social consequences", by M. Guilbault, is an excellent short study of American "trusts" and German cartels. "The North Americans in South America", by M. Richer, is also excellent, though I wish it had included some mention of the not unimportant ventures of Canadian capital in that field.

In future volumes the editors should watch the proof-reading, especially the spelling of English proper names. There must be at least two dozen of these misspelled, some of them repeatedly, in these volumes.

EUGENE FORSEY

The Eskimos: Their Environment and Folkways. By EDWARD MOFFAT WEYER, jr. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1932. Pp. xvii, 491; 3 maps.

AUTHORITATIVE information concerning the aborigines of Canada is growing rapidly—almost as rapidly as ancient customs are passing away. Limited at first to incidental observations in the journals of explorers, followed later by the more extensive accounts of resident traders and missionaries, it was not until the eighteen-nineties that volumes began to appear having the manners and customs of the natives as their main theme. Such works made possible comprehensive studies on the Indians, those of Wissler, Radin, Jenness, and MacLeod for example, but in *The Eskimos* Weyer has gone further. It is essentially a compilation from diverse sources—although the author includes some new and important data from his own researches in western Alaska—but, as the title suggests, it deals only with one group, the Eskimo. Thus it serves as an encyclopaedia of Eskimo practices and beliefs in which the distribution of various elements of culture is described and plotted on charts. Some idea of the labour involved may be gained from the author's bibliography, in which 341 sources are cited.

Dr. Weyer is from Yale and his work is clearly influenced by the Sumner-Keller school, which stresses the influence of environment upon a community. There are perhaps few tribes among which physical surroundings, together with the fauna, are of such paramount importance as they are among the Eskimo, a fact which the author brings out very convincingly. Indeed, his whole approach is ecological, distinctly comparable to the studies of zoologists upon the interactions of various species of mammalian life; this is most obvious in the chapters dealing with the utilization of natural resources, but is likewise apparent in descriptions of religious and social phenomena. Dr. Weyer is to be

congratulated on a volume in which theoretical considerations are judiciously blended with descriptive material, and, above all, in which a vast amount of information has been summarized and made readily available in a readable form.

T. F. McILWRAITH

The Hospitals of Ontario: A Short History. Compiled by the Hospitals Division of the Department of Health, Ontario. Toronto: Herbert H. Ball. Printer to the king's most excellent majesty. 1934. Pp. 289. (\$2.00)

The title is unfortunate. The book is really a directory of the public hospitals of Ontario, illustrated, with a short history. Included are the general hospitals, the sanatoriums for the tuberculous, the preventoriums, hospitals for incurables, the Red Cross outpost hospitals, and the public mental hospitals. There is a short sketch of the foundation of each hospital with its date, its present administrative staff, and in most instances a splendid illustration. Were it a history we should have a record of those that have passed out of existence.

There is a short chapter on the origin of hospitals and another on the beginnings in Ontario with some reference to government assistance. Similar introductions appear in the sections dealing with the sanatoriums, preventoriums, mental and other hospitals, while the closing chapter is a short and necessarily incomplete but appreciative sketch of the medical and nursing professions as related to teaching and licensure.

Haste in preparation is in evidence through the careless proof-reading and failure to check up when statements are copied from two or more sources.

It is a most useful reference book, but for a future edition the Department of Health should insist that the king's printer have a proper font of type. Ontario's sister province will smile at a government publication in which "Hôtel-Dieu" always appears as "Hotel Dieu", "l'Hôpital Général" as "l'Hospital General", "Société" as "Societe"; in fact nowhere is there an accent of any kind in the numerous French names of persons and hospitals and societies.

J. H. ELLIOTT

CORRESPONDENCE

THE EXTERMINATION OF THE BUFFALO IN WESTERN CANADA

(The disappearance of the buffalo from western Canada is a problem which has aroused much general interest and which is also of great importance to the special students of western history. The article by Mr. Frank G. Roe of Edmonton, which appeared in the last issue of the REVIEW, is, so far as we are aware, the most thorough discussion of the question which has appeared in print. In view of the general interest in the subject and because of the difficulties which are involved in reaching definite conclusions, the editor asked Professor R. O. Merriman of Queen's University and Professor A. S. Morton of the University of Saskatchewan, who have also made special investigation along this line, for their comments on the article. These comments, together with some further observations by Mr. Roe, are printed below. The article in March, together with these letters, provide, therefore, a symposium which embodies the most recent results of a thorough research.)

I found the article by Mr. Roe a very interesting one indeed. He has evidently made a painstaking study of the subject.

The first part of the article is, I think, excellent. Mr. Roe has carefully examined the evidence on the effect of disease on the buffalo and has reached what I consider the sound conclusion, that the buffalo were exterminated by man and not by natural causes. I do not think that this section of the article could be improved.

The second section is, I think, essentially sound as to fact and I was interested to see that the writer has found much information as to the trade in buffalo robes from the Canadian North-west for the period from about 1870 onward. I feel, however, that there are some mistakes in emphasis in this second section. On page 10 the author correctly says that up to about 1870 there was no extermination of the buffalo for robes alone. I think that he does not sufficiently stress the extent of the slaughter in Canada prior to 1870, which slaughter was conducted for food products, and he does not sufficiently emphasize the fact that the buffalo in Canada by 1870 were reduced to a small fraction of their numbers of fifty years earlier and a still smaller fraction of the number of one hundred years earlier. The chief slaughter of the buffalo in Canada took place prior to 1870 and took place for the sake of food products. On page 11, Mr. Roe refers to the Hudson's Bay Company's deliberate opposition to settlement in Canada. As I attempted to show in my two studies of this topic, this opposition was based on the incompatibility between settlement and the existence of the buffalo as a range animal, and on the supposed necessity of the continued existence of the buffalo as a range animal to provide food for the fur-transport if the fur-trade was to be continued. Mr. Roe seems to overlook this cause. On page 14, in commenting on his interesting evidence of the extent of the trade in buffalo robes, he remarks that the disposal of 36,000 hides

would not justify an estimate of considerably more than a million buffalo slaughtered. Again I think he has overlooked the slaughter of buffalo for meat. Alexander Henry, the younger, quotes figures for the Lower Red River department of the North West Company for the seven seasons from 1800-1 to 1807-8 inclusive, showing that that department provided about sixty-one tons of the food products of the bison, which must have involved the slaughter of about six thousand bison, but exported only two hundred and fourteen bison robes. In the *Publications of the Canadian Archives, Minutes of the councils of the Red River colony and of the Northern department of Rupert's Land*, edited by Dr. E. H. Oliver, there is abundant evidence that the Hudson's Bay Company could not, or did not, dispose of all the buffalo hides which they obtained as a by-product of the slaughter of the buffalo. The standing orders to try to increase the sale of buffalo robes, were due to the lack of buffalo robes and not, as Mr. Roe suggests, the difficulty of transporting them. There may, therefore, be no discrepancy between the figures which Mr. Roe finds it impossible to reconcile on page 14.

Another aspect of extermination is apparently overlooked by Mr. Roe. In killing buffalo to obtain food products, fat was the most desirable product because the product was used chiefly in the form of pemmican. A cow buffalo would provide sufficient meat and fat for the manufacture of about fifty-five pounds of pemmican but would provide an additional forty-five pounds or more of dried meat. As pemmican was the desired product, only about half of the meat of the slaughtered animals was used because of the absence of sufficient fat to convert the remainder into pemmican. Furthermore, the hunters selected cows for killing because at the season of the hunt the bulls were lean, and, as the season of the hunt was the season of the birth of calves, the selective slaughter of the cows reduced the numbers of buffalo still further because it involved the death of unborn or newly born calves. Slaughter for meat was, therefore, much more destructive than the corresponding slaughter for various other reasons.

In considering the abundance of the buffalo during the later period of their existence as wild animals, Mr. Roe might emphasize further the effect of the gregarious habits of the buffalo on their apparent abundance. The slaughter of the buffalo reduced their range and produced local extermination but left them apparently as abundant as ever within the reduced range. This gave rise to the opinion of the hunters that the buffalo had moved and not that they were being exterminated. There are indications of this in Mr. Roe's manuscript but no explicit notice of it.

With the exception of the points noted above which are matters of emphasis rather than of error, I think Mr. Roe's article is excellent and it is especially valuable in its collection of information on the exportation of buffalo robes across the southern border by "bad men", "whisky smugglers", and others during about ten or fifteen years after 1870.

(R. O. MERRIMAN)

Mr. Roe has gathered evidence over a wide field and has justly estimated the extent to which the buffalo herds were reduced by attrition due to the hunters. This goes a long distance towards explaining

the disappearance of the buffalo, but it does not provide an adequate cause of their sudden disappearance in and after 1880. In this, the final phase, it is the suddenness which requires explanation. The theory that an epidemic carried off the herds would offer a satisfactory cause, but Mr. Roe has satisfactorily disposed of that as being unsupported by evidence. Mr. Roe includes snow (p. 2) among the many causes of attrition. There is room for research, of the same far-reaching and perceptive character as this paper gives to the matter of attrition, on the question of whether the wild winter of 1879-80 did not deal the final blow to the buffalo herds.

Some such explanation is specially necessary to explain the disappearance of the Canadian herds, for transportation facilities were too meagre in the north to allow of the wholesale export of buffalo robes and the pre-requisite slaughter on the scale evidenced in the valley of the Mississippi. In 1876 the buffalo were still tolerably numerous—so numerous that half-breeds were selling their land in the Red River and migrating to St. Laurent near Duck Lake and to Batoche, where they could engage in the pemmican trade at Fort Carlton and make a little additional money by freighting. Such, at any rate, is the reason given for their migration by Patrick Fleury, the first settler at St. Laurent, and Antoine Ferguson, one of the earliest settlers at Batoche. Apparently, they had no fear of the total disappearance of the buffalo, but by 1881, in a short five years, the buffalo were gone.

My attention was first drawn to snow as the cause of the suddenness of the end by the earliest settler in the Kamsack region, not far from Fort Pelly. He said that the skeletons of the buffalo on his farm were so numerous as to suggest a sudden disaster. He noted that the lower branches of the bush on the farm were stripped of bark and chewed and he argued that the buffalo, because of the frozen surface of the snow after a thaw, were unable to get through to the grass, tried to live on the branches of the bushes, and finally died of starvation. The winter of 1879-80 saw a succession of wild blizzards. Mr. E. J. Meilicke of Saskatoon and Vancouver, at that time of southern Minnesota, has described it to me in detail as it affected the settlers. Trains ceased to run about Christmas time. Thereafter every effort to open up the line was defeated by blizzard upon blizzard. That winter was long remembered in the country as the "snow winter of 1880". It was "the worst the country had ever seen and nothing like it has been experienced since". Mr. Meilicke tells of his wading through the snow waste-deep to reach his mother's home. To rest he needed only to lean on the snow, standing. It seems entirely probable that the buffalo, taking refuge from the blizzard in the hollows, would be overwhelmed by the prolonged blizzard of Christmas, 1879, and the subsequent depth of the snow even on the open was so great that it seems probable that those which survived might not be able to get down to the grass to graze. A searching inquiry of the kind admirably exemplified in this paper might bring out interesting facts, possibly decisive, as to the final cause of the disappearance of the buffalo. (A. S. MORTON)

I greatly appreciate the very gratifying interest of Professor Merri-

man and Professor Morton in my short study of the extermination of the buffalo in Western Canada. My paper was really intended to deal with the *final* extermination; which cannot properly be considered to have assumed anything of a catastrophic character in Canada until the terrific onslaught in the western states (*i.e.*, 1871-5, in the territory south of the Platte) had concentrated the buffalo-slayers' attention on the "northern" herd in the United States. This northern herd included in a loose sense, the Canadian herd, or herds, also. In a larger work, on which I have for several years been engaged and which is now virtually completed, I have bestowed much attention on the points raised by Mr. Merriman; and it was with those researches in my mind that I suggested the conclusions with reference to numbers of hides as a possible index of the numbers of buffalo. My remarks on the policy which deferred the opening of "bulk-transportation routes" necessarily apply to the years before 1870; the estimates of "36,000 robes" out of "more than 1,000,000" buffalo slain belong to 1873, at a time when the evidence indicates that *it was for robes*, mainly, that slaughter was being carried on. At this very time, too, Colonel Dodge records the fact (with reference, of course, to hide-hunters purely) that the almost incredible wastage in saving and curing hides, which characterized the years 1870-2, had been much reduced by experience, financial losses, and some degree of public alarm.¹ Concerning western Canada itself, Governor Laird, quoted in my own paper, considered the export "did not indicate even one-half" of the slaughter, in 1877. If we raised this five times, to one in ten, there is still, in my opinion, entirely too wide a margin between such a ratio, and one in twenty-eight or so (*i.e.*, 36,000 in "more than a million"). And even the question of respective ratios does not touch the real crux: it seems improbable that the small population of western Canada, with a much larger territory and much less effectively armed than the American hunters, could kill forty per cent. of the total destroyed by "thousands" of hunters in the United States, many of them killing for days and weeks together at the rate of a hundred per day, and three thousand per month.²

I must say that I have so far found no evidence to indicate any care for the buffalo on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company, either as a satisfactory explanation of its opposition to settlement, or for the sake of the buffalo. The company certainly cannot be said to have contributed to conserve the buffalo by any encouragement of agriculture, when the "guaranteed market" for surplus grain only amounted to eight bushels per annum.³ Professor Merriman and I are, perhaps, arguing somewhat at cross purposes, chronologically. It scarcely seems logical, for instance, that the company was, on the one hand, utilizing Red River as a (pemmican) supply depôt, and trying to increase the sale of buffalo robes because of a lack of them; while, *at the same time*, on the other hand, as Alexander Ross tells us, the company was agreeing "as usual"

¹R. I. Dodge, *Plains of the great west* (New York, 1877), 138-42.

²*Ibid.*; and W. T. Hornaday, "The extermination of the American bison" (*Smithsonian reports*, 1887, published 1889).

³John McLean, *Twenty-five years' service in the Hudson's Bay territory* (London, 1849), II, 308-9; accepted by George Bryce, *Remarkable history of the Hudson's Bay Company* (2nd ed., London, 1904), 353.

to take a certain specified quantity of provisions from the returning hunt on the understanding that this was "not from each fellow that had been on the plains, but from each old and recognized hunter . . ."⁴

Mr. Merriman's remarks on the enormous number of buffalo which it was necessary to slaughter, in order to obtain the amount of *fat* required for the making up into pemmican of the lean meat from a much smaller number, tend, I think, to support the conclusions which I formed some time ago, respecting the wild and reckless charges of "wastefulness" by the Red River hunt. While some waste from the above and other causes was inevitable, and while wilful wastefulness no doubt played its part, my own analysis—from another angle than Mr. Merriman's—leads me to conclude that the waste has been much exaggerated.

In his remarks on the question of gregariousness and apparent abundance, I believe Mr. Merriman to be quite correct. This point touches a portion of Mr. Morton's argument also. I have given it considerable attention, but it scarcely came within the limits of my title. The irregularity of the buffalo movements (not only in Canada, but everywhere throughout their habitat) resulted in historical instances, literally countless, in which buffalo were not found in regions where they were considered by residents of long standing to be "unfailing", *etc.* These temporary and local absences occasion no comment from the Alexander Henry's; but to passing travellers, after the extermination east of the Mississippi about 1810, any absence of buffalo on the great plains is "evidence of extermination". Long (in the south) and Frémont are full of such observations; and Dr. Hornaday cites their remarks as "proof", while others, in the same territory shortly afterwards, or a little distance away almost at the same time, record "vast herds". I believe the "suddenness" to which Mr. Morton refers lay in the fact that these local disappearances had long been explained by a fairly proportionate plenty elsewhere, which had never before totally failed. Consequently, even a well-authenticated shortage in any one (or even two or three) of the recognized "buffalo centres" occasioned little or no comment. All at once, these shortages manifested themselves in all quarters simultaneously, with no reassuring plenty from any point to offset them, since, as we now know, there were no longer any buffalo to furnish it.

With reference to the plenty of 1876 in the Carlton-Batoche district, will Professor Morton pardon me if I suggest that while it might have furnished before-hand a good reason for moving from Red River, his informants apparently do not say whether their expectations were realized in actual fact? The "psychological" attitude of the half-breeds toward the buffalo was largely the same as that of the Indians, and there was so much of the supernatural bound up with Indian buffalo-lore that the wish could be father to the thought at any time. As Mr. Morton quite justly points out, they had apparently "no fear of the total disappearance of the buffalo". My friend, the Rev. P. G. Sutton of Paul's Reserve, Wabamun Lake, Alberta, was told by Mrs. Whitford, the widow of the famous John Whitford, hunter, guide, and plainsman,

⁴Alexander Ross, *The Red River settlement* (London, 1856), 273.

and friend of the McDougalls and of Palliser, that the idea of the buffalo ever disappearing seemed unthinkable. Why should they disappear? They had never done so before without coming back. If the white men could have been expelled in 1885, "the buffalo would return".⁵ I have thus far found no historical reference to any "fairly numerous" condition about Carlton in 1876; and it is somewhat strange that Governor Laird should make no mention of such, residing in the district at the time, as he did.

Mr. Morton's observations on snow in the Fort Pelly country supplement some seventeen closely-written pages of other evidence which I have on the same point. The evidence concerning snow is as destitute of uniformity as everything else relating to buffalo. Under certain conditions, snow apparently meant nothing to them; under others, and not infrequently in "coulées" (as in Mr. Morton's instance), it overwhelmed them. One would like the date of the early settler's discoveries of the buffalo skeletons on his farm. I gather that this must have been before the winter of 1879-80, which seems to have reference to Minnesota. The Earl of Southesk remarked at Fort Pelly, in December, 1859: "Buffalo never come within several days' march . . ."⁶ Fort Pelly was "starving" in March, 1863;⁷ but the fact proves nothing for our purpose, since Carlton was starving at the same time, in the very heart of the Saskatchewan River buffalo range. Bones in "coulées", however, have been known to last for so many years as to render speculation dangerous, without some positive evidence. A prominent authority on Indian matters records the following: "At the close of the late war [in 1919 and 1920] the Sarcee Indians near Calgary gathered and sold for fertilizer all the buffalo bones that lay at the bottom of a narrow ravine on their reserve . . ."⁸ five miles south-west of Calgary. There is, I suppose, a possibility (unless, indeed, these were identified by zoologists) that the bones in question might have been those of range cattle which perished in the "Cochrane winter" of 1882-3. Even this would make them thirty-seven years old: possibly they were protected by a deposit of some character.

May I say in conclusion that while, perhaps, too stoutly adhering to my own conclusions in general, I do not by any means exclude such influences as those suggested by my very courteous critics. My own central thesis is that very seldom indeed does any one explanation furnish complete solution to any problem of the buffalo. (FRANK G. ROE)

⁵Katherine Hughes, *Father Lacombe* (Toronto, 1911), 304.

⁶Earl of Southesk, *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains* (Toronto, 1875), 306.

⁷Viscount Milton and W. B. Cheadle, *The North-west passage by land* (London, 1865; 9th ed. 1901), 160.

⁸D. Jenness, *The Indians of Canada* (Ottawa, 1932), 58.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association which was held at McGill University, Montreal, on May 20-2, proved to be one of the most successful in recent years. Professor McArthur of Queen's University gave in his presidential paper a very interesting analysis of the origin and growth of the Dominion Archives in Ottawa, and traced especially the influence of the Archives in Canadian historical writing. He also made several valuable suggestions for the future development of the Archives which it is hoped will receive the attention they deserve when the paper is published in full. The other papers which were read were of a high order and will also be printed in the annual report. C. P. Stacey traced the movement for the withdrawal of British military forces in Canada and showed its important effects on English and Canadian politics. R. S. Longley analysed the important services of Francis Hincks in connection with Canadian public finance in the 1840's. G. de T. Glazebrook discussed the problems and extent of road-building during the French régime and the relation of roads to the general movement of expansion. R. O. Macfarlane gave an account of Indian trade in Nova Scotia with special reference to the unfortunate experiences of 1760-2 in connection with the government's trading posts. K. B. Wainwright and Margaret Ells contributed two statistical studies on the numbers of Loyalists who settled in Cape Breton and Nova Scotia. These papers, prepared under the supervision of D. C. Harvey, are another evidence of the valuable work which is being done at the Nova Scotia Archives and the exhaustive research indicates that the figures arrived at are as accurate as we are ever likely to obtain. The result especially in the case of Cape Breton, is a radical revision of previous estimates. A. A. Marchbin read a paper on the origin of south-east European immigration to Canada. At a joint session with the Political Science Association an excellent paper presenting much new material was read by Chester Martin on the subject of land grants to Canadian railways. In recognition of the anniversary of Cartier's first voyage, a special session was held at the Château de Ramezay where papers were given by Léon Gérin and A. Beaugrand-Champagne. G. Lanctot read another by title. H. P. Biggar and W. D. Lighthall, although unable to attend, also sent papers on Cartier.

McGill University entertained the Political Science and Historical Associations at tea and also at a dinner at which Professor Stephen Leacock, president of the Political Science Association, spoke on "The revision of democracy". Members of the Historical Association were given a delightful excursion to the historic church of Sault-au-Récollet and to the Manoir de Repentigny where they were entertained by Mrs. Colville, the present owner. Mrs. Colville in her admirable restoration of the manor buildings during the past few years has fully preserved their great historic interest.

At the business session the following officers were elected for next year: President, F. J. Audet of the Archives in Ottawa; vice-president, E. R. Adair, McGill University; chairman of the management committee, R. G. Trotter, Queen's University; French secretary, G. Lanctot; English secretary and treasurer, Norman Fee; editorial committee, E. R. Adair, G. Lanctot, D. McArthur, Chester Martin. A resolution was also passed to the effect that in the future the association should financially and otherwise be independent of any government department. For some years past the association has received a valuable and much appreciated support from the Public Archives in Ottawa, especially in respect of the printing of its annual report. It was felt, however, that the time had arrived when the association should be able to carry on without relying on this assistance.

Historians will be interested in the first session of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences which is to be held, under royal patronage, in London from July 30 to August 4. With the rapid expansion of all phases of the subject, the need of such an organization has long been felt. Preliminary steps were taken in 1912 for a congress at Madrid in 1916; the War naturally prevented this. Advance registration indicates that the London meeting will be attended from all parts of the world, including members representing most of the dominions and many of the colonies. Canada is represented on the permanent council. Further information may be obtained from the Canadian national secretaries, C. M. Barbeau, the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa, and T. F. McIlwraith, the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

The Royal Society at its annual meeting in May awarded to Dr. J. C. Webster of Shediac, N.B., the Tyrrell medal in recognition of his valuable contributions to the history of the Maritime Provinces.

Although the work of restoring of Old Fort York at Toronto is not completed, the fort was reopened on May 24 by his excellency the governor-general. The tablet which he then unveiled bears the following inscription: "Old Fort York. Established 1793; rebuilt 1813-1816; restored 1934. This tablet, unveiled by His Excellency the Earl of Bessborough, Governor-General of Canada, commemorates the restoration of the Fort by the city of Toronto." The Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto has furnished one of the rooms in the south barracks, which appear at one time to have served the purpose of quarters for married men. Among accessories of old furniture of undoubted authenticity stand three figures—a little girl, a woman, and an officer of the 15th Regiment of Foot, which was in garrison a hundred years ago. The woman's figure is clothed in a costume dating from the same period. All three figures, like the six presented by the United Empire Loyalists' Associations in Toronto have been made by the Toronto sculptress, Miss Merle Foster. The Loyalists have promised six more figures, which also will represent officers of as many Loyalist corps raised for service against the rebels of 1774-83. With these

second six will stand figures of Laura Ingersoll Secord and Captain FitzGibbon, a tablet in memory of the former being affixed to a wall in the same room. For the east magazine the furnishing committee of the fort is indebted to Miss Wherry of Toronto, a pupil of Mrs. Hahn, of the Toronto Technical School, for an admirable relief map of the harbour of Toronto. From the Public Archives at Ottawa have come sundry maps and plans of the harbour, the fort and the town belonging to the years 1788-1834. The corporation of the city has provided a photograph of the grant of the Exhibition Grounds on condition that the fort be restored to the condition of 1816 and maintained forever. In the matter of guns the committee is indebted to the Hudson's Bay Company, which has lent two which had been in service formerly at Fort Prince of Wales.

Dr. M. M. Quaife of the Burton Historical Collection of Detroit has sent the following item: "In volume XII, pages 183-8 of the REVIEW you printed a narrative of the Battle of Bloody Run, contributed by Professor N. V. Russell. Professor Russell tried to identify the author (John Duncan) and I tried to help him do so. We could not discover that Lieutenant Duncan of the 44th Regiment was at Detroit at this time and for this reason were inclined to believe that he was not the author of the narrative. The proof that he was here, and therewith the identification of him as the author, is to be found in his memorandum printed in volume VIII of the *Sir William Johnson papers*, pages 1067-8."

We understand that invitations have been sent to a number of "eminent historians" to become members of the "Institut historique et héraldique de France". The honorary secretary of the Royal Historical Society informs us that "enquiries have been made at the French Embassy, and they say that they know nothing of the Institute".

The notes on historical societies in this issue are of unusual number and interest and are a striking indication of the valuable work that is being done in all parts of the dominion. We are pleased to note also in this issue the annual report of the Archives of Nova Scotia and the latest volume of the Nova Scotia Historical Society which has recommended the publications of its *Collections*. We have also noted recently several publications of the Quebec Archives which continues its active work under the supervision of M. P.-G. Roy.

The first article in this issue is by Major Gustave Lanctot of the Public Archives, Ottawa, to whose generous assistance the REVIEW has been much indebted. The other articles are by Dr. C. P. Stacey, Princeton University, who wrote an article on the Fenians for our issue of September, 1931, and by Mr. S. B. Watson of Toronto. The document has been contributed by Professor Bartlet Brebner of Columbia University, who is now preparing a study on Nova Scotia during the period of the American Revolution.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The *Amherstburg Historical Sites and Museum Association* was organized in November, 1933, and has since been incorporated. Its objects are the establishment of a museum, the erection of memorials, and the purchase or control and the preservation and restoration of historic sites and buildings in and about Amherstburg. It has already been responsible for a number of articles on local history in the papers of Amherstburg and Windsor. The officers are: President, Major A. W. McNally; vice-president, The Rev. Father Perdue; secretary-treasurer, John A. Marsh.

The *Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver* held its fortieth annual meeting at the Vancouver City Museum on January 23. His Honour Judge F. W. Howay was elected honorary president, Professor Charles Hill-Tout, president, and Mr. T. P. O. Menzies, secretary and curator. In March and April a programme of fifteen-minute radio talks was arranged in order to inform the public about the treasures in the museum.

The *Brome County Historical Society*, Knowlton, P.Q., has recently received from Mrs. John Baillie a considerable number of large framed portraits of distinguished Canadians. At the society's last annual meeting Mr. Homer A. Mitchell was elected president, Mr. Harry B. Shufelt assistant secretary, and Mrs. L. M. Knowlton was appointed president of the Woman's Committee. The Rev. Ernest M. Taylor has been secretary-treasurer continuously since the beginning of the society in October, 1897.

The *Canadian Catholic Historical Association* is preparing a reading list (of about 100 titles, in English and French) on general church history, designed to meet the needs of mature readers, study clubs, colleges, and seminaries. Extensive preparations were made for the first annual meeting which was held at the Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, on Tuesday and Wednesday, May 29 and 30.

The *Canadian Geographical Society* held its annual general meeting in Ottawa, on February 21. A steady improvement in the society's membership was reported, and there is every reason to expect "that the coming year will put the Society's magazine on a self-supporting basis, and pave the way toward other activities for the promotion of Canadian Geography, in the broadest sense, which the Society has had in mind since its organization." After the general meeting, Mr. A. N. Narraway gave an address on the influence of the aeroplane upon exploration and mapping in Canada. Dr. Charles Camsell has again been elected president.

Canadian Political Science Association. The sixth annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association was held at McGill University, Montreal, on May 21-3. The opening meeting on Monday was held at a dinner in the Windsor Hotel at which members of the Canadian Political Science Association and members of the Canadian Historical Association were guests. Professor Stephen Leacock delivered his presidential address on "The revision of democracy". Tuesday morning was devoted to the new economic nationalism, papers being read by

J. E. Lattimer, Macdonald College, and H. A. Innis, University of Toronto. In the afternoon, a joint session with the Canadian Historical Association was held; Chester Martin, University of Toronto, and J. C. Hemmeon, McGill University, read papers. The evening session was addressed by E. W. Beatty, K.C., on the Canadian transportation problem. On Wednesday, the morning session dealt with the financial relations of the dominion and the provinces: W. C. Keirstead, University of New Brunswick, and J. A. Maxwell, Clark University, presented papers. In the afternoon, there was a session on population at which O. A. Lemieux, on behalf of a group in the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, presented a paper, dealing with the growth of rural population in Canada. W. B. Hurd, Brandon College, presented a paper on population movements, 1921-31. The evening session was on "The Canadian dollar", papers being presented by J. P. Day, McGill University, and G. A. Elliott, University of Alberta. In addition to the general sessions, very useful round-table discussions were held on the status of aliens in Canada, the natural rate of interest, agricultural credit, and the problems of constitutional amendment in Canada. The papers presented at the general session and the round tables will be published as volume VI of the *Papers and proceedings* of the Canadian Political Science Association. It is hoped that this volume will be published before the end of July. Copies may be obtained (\$3.00) from the secretary, V. W. Bladen, University of Toronto, 273 Bloor St. West, Toronto. Copies of the earlier volumes are available at low prices. D. A. MacGibbon of the Board of Grain Commissioners was elected president of the association.

The *Elgin Historical Society* has marked eight historic sites in east Elgin, including, the hundred-year-old House of Entertainment—stopping place for the old border-to-border stage coach lines; the first school house in the county; the pioneer burying ground at Rogers Corners; the sites of the old Edison home and the old Burwell home; a marker for the pioneer village; the River Barbue (Catfish Creek) so named by Charlevoix in 1721; also, in west Elgin: a marker at Brock's Creek, near the spot where Brock camped on the way to Detroit in 1812; the site of Stirling, where St. Thomas had its beginning. The society has secured pictures of a hundred pioneer homes in Elgin County, and lantern slides have been made and shown at meetings. Much valuable information has been collected, including new material concerning Colonel Burwell and the site of his first and second registry offices. It is unfortunate that the society, through lack of funds, is not able to publish its findings. President, J. C. Smith; secretary, Miss E. N. Lewis, 61 Elgin Street, St. Thomas, Ontario.

The *Haldimand Historical Society* was organized last autumn with the following officers: President and curator, David Duff; vice-presidents, Miss Blake Kohler and J. L. Mitchener; secretary-treasurer, Mrs. Joseph Peart; all of Cayuga. The society has also a number of honorary and advisory officers resident at Caledonia, Dunnville, Hagersville, Rainham Centre, Jarvis, and Canfield. It has secured a fire-proof room in the County Court House for the storage of historical material and has expectations of building up a good museum.

The *Historical Association of Annapolis Royal* celebrated its fifteenth

anniversary at the Memorial Town Hall on May 11, about a hundred and fifty people being present. The programme included an exhibition of costumes dating back from forty to a hundred and fifty years. An important announcement was that of the purchase, by the association, of a property which is a part of the site of Champlain's *Habitation*, or the first French stronghold of Port Royal. At some future time there will be a replica of the *Habitation* built on its original site. As an expression of goodwill American friends, the Associates of Port Royal in America, are raising a fund for the purpose of rebuilding. (H. LAURA HARDY, Secretary).

The *New Brunswick Historical Society* has been receiving a great deal of valuable historical material for its museum, including some thousands of documents dealing with the early history of the Maritime Provinces. President, Lieut.-Col. A. T. Ganong; recording secretary, William MacIntosh; corresponding secretary, William Dougherty, jr.; librarian, George H. Markham.

Nova Scotia Historical Society. We have received from the society volume 22 of its *Collections* and a notice of this interesting and valuable publication, and of the papers contained in it, appears in our list of recent publications. President, B. E. Paterson; corresponding secretary, Mrs. G. A. MacIntosh; librarian, Miss Annie Donohoe.

Ontario Historical Society. The first vice-president, Mr. A. J. Clark, of Richmond Hill, who was a sculptor and an archaeologist interested particularly in matters pertaining to the North American Indians, has died suddenly.

The annual meeting of the society is to be held on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, June 28, 29, and 30, at Queen's University, Kingston. The papers for the most part will deal with phases of the Loyalist settlements of 1784, which are being recalled this year. Kingston, as their chief town, is the most suitable place in which to hold this meeting.

Portage and District Old Timers' Association. The officers of the association are: President, Jonathon Troop; vice-president, Gilvray S. McRae; secretary, Keith Stewart. The association has not been active since the publication in 1932 of *The tread of the pioneers*, a permanent record of the early settlement and settlers of Portage la Prairie and the surrounding district.

La Société Historique de Rigaud celebrated, on November 16, 1933, the third centenary of the concession of the Seigniorship of Rigaud with a conference concerning the Honourable M. E. G. A. Chartier de Lotbinière.

La Société Historique de St-Boniface. The Rev. Father A. D'Eschambault has been elected president and M. Donatien Frémont secretary. Monsieur Frémont has published a monograph on *Radisson* which will later be reviewed in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

La Société Historique d'Ottawa held a meeting in the hall of the Normal School, Ottawa, at which M. C. H. Carbonneau spoke on "Des forêts de la Nouvelle-France".

The *United Empire Loyalists' Association* celebrated the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of the Loyalists in Ontario with a national historical exhibition in Eaton's Auditorium, Toronto, from May 21 to 26. An extraordinarily interesting and varied collection of

exhibits, which threw light on almost every phase of pioneer and nineteenth-century life in the province, had been gathered from all parts of Ontario where the Loyalists had settled, and a valuable collection of Loyalist documents and pictures were on loan from the Public Archives of Canada. Programmes of folk dances and songs were given every day, as well as scenes depicting quilting bees and other aspects of home life in early Loyalist days.

The *Waterloo Historical Society* was organized in 1912 and has an interesting collection of county newspaper files, documents, historical objects, etc., all contained in a museum located in the Kitchener Public Library. Annual reports of its transactions have been published from the beginning and constitute a considerable body of county history, a permanent record of the pioneer days and the subsequent progress of the community and district. Several historical sites have been marked by suitable bronze tablets, viz., the east-end Mennonite Church, Kitchener; the first flour mill at Preston, and the site of an early community centre on the Preston Road near Hespeler. President, D. N. Panabaker, Hespeler; secretary-treasurer, P. Fisher, Kitchener. (P. FISHER)

Wellington County Historical Society. In April the society held a dinner which was attended by forty-one members. Informal talks on history were given, as well as an illustrated lecture on Mexico and the south by Mr. J. M. Card of Guelph. The society itself does not have a museum, but Dr. A. E. Byerly, the society's secretary, has an interesting historical museum and an extensive and valuable library of Canadiana. He has lately added to it the letters of Captain William Gilkison, who founded Elora, a German spelling book published in Berlin (now Kitchener) in 1839, and volume I of *The Calliopean*, a magazine published at Hamilton, in 1847. President, David Allan; secretary, Dr. A. E. Byerly, Guelph, Ontario.

The *Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa* supports and manages the Bytown Museum, which is open to the public every Saturday from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. The average attendance this year has been 37. "The Bytown Museum" was one of the subjects of the Fisher essay competition last year, and interest was thus stimulated. Corresponding secretary, Mrs. H. G. Barber.

The *Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto* has taken an active interest in the restoration and refurnishing of Old Fort York.

York Pioneer and Historical Society. We have received the society's annual report for 1933 (published 1934), which contains, besides the report of the year's activities, several interesting papers on local history (which will receive individual notice in our next list of recent publications), the constitution and by-laws of the society, a list of members (in 1933, 2 honorary members, 438 life members, and 551 members), and a number of interesting illustrations. The society held regular meetings throughout the year and the list of the papers read is indicative of the interesting work which is being done. Many interesting contributions were made to the museum at Sharon during the year. The programme for 1934 is being planned to include papers and addresses in connection with Toronto's centennial celebrations. President, Professor D. R. Keys; secretary, N. F. Caswell, 124 Spruce Hill Road.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a later and more extended review.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

- APPLETON, E. V. *Empire communication*. London: British Science Guild. 1933. Pp. 23.
- A British Commonwealth conference* (Economist, London, Nov. 4, 1933, 855-6). A report of the British Commonwealth Relations Conference.
- CLARKE, F. *The London Institute of Education* (Queen's quarterly, XLI (1), spring, 1934, 55-70). In order to appraise the function and possibilities of the new London Institute of the University of London, the writer re-examines the whole issue of the future of the British Commonwealth and of Canada's place in it.
- CLAXTON, BROOKE. *Commonwealth gets together* (Interdependence, Journal of the League of Nations Society in Canada, X (3 and 4), Sept. and Dec., 1933, 173-88). The best available discussion and account of the British Commonwealth Relations Conference held at the University of Toronto from September 11 to 21, 1933. The author was a member of the Canadian delegation (W.P.M.K.).
- The empire, the league, and security* (Round table, no. 94, March, 1934, 227-40). A discussion of the collective system and of what obligations the British Commonwealth is now under or is willing to undertake in order to ensure world peace and security.
- GOBLET, Y. M. *Régressions politiques expérimentales dans l'Empire britannique* (Revue politique et parlementaire, 10 fév., 1934, 266-79). Discusses the change in Newfoundland's status.
- HODSON, H. V. *Empire trade and the future* (Lloyds Bank Ltd., monthly review, Oct., 1933).
- The Imperial Economic Conference with particular reference to the United Kingdom-Canada agreement* (International affairs, XIII (2), March-April, 1934, 245-52). A report of discussions of the Montreal branch of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1932-3.
- KEITH, BERRIEDALE. *Notes on imperial constitutional law* (Journal of comparative legislation and international law, series 3, XVI (1), Feb., 1934, 131-9). Among other matters discusses Canada and the Statute of Westminster, the external relations of the dominions, etc.
- KENNEDY, J. R. *The masque of imperial defence* (Nineteenth century, no. DCLXXXV, March, 1934, 257-67). Facts about the lack of central organization and control in the defensive policy of the empire.
- KENNEDY, W. P. M. *The Statute of Westminster* (Juridical review, XLV (4), Dec., 1933, 330-43). An important discussion in which a special plea is made that the courts should not treat the Statute of Westminster as an ordinary statute to which strict rules of interpretation should be applied.
- LOCKYER, H. C. *Some practical aspects of imperial defence* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, Nov., 1933). An examination of the present distribution of the cruiser-strength of the Royal Navy, together with a proposal as to its re-distribution in such a way as to serve the empire to greater effect.
- MEYER, ERWIN F. *The constitutional law of the British Commonwealth*. (Reprinted without change of paging from University of Colorado studies, XXI (2), March, 1934, 109-25.)

- MOSSINA, N. *Novaia agrarnaia politika britanskogo imperializma* (Bolchevik, Sept. 15 and 30, 1933, 36-50, 52-7). Discusses the "new policy" of British imperialism.
- ORDE, R. J. *The Statute of Westminster* (Canadian defence quarterly, XI (2), Jan., 1934, 213-23). Notes on the application of the statute and complementary legislation to the armed forces of Canada.
- POLLET, E. *Après la conférence d'Ottawa* (Revue économique internationale, janv., 1934, 137-60).
- RICHER, LEOPOLD. *Marché des Dupes? La Conférence Impériale d'Ottawa*. Montréal: Albert Lévesque. 1933. Pp. 208. Reviewed on page 90.
- RIEDL, R. *Innereuropäische Handelspolitik* (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, Jan., 1934). An historical account of the policy of trade agreements, leading to the problem of the reaction of the Ottawa agreement on European conditions, and to a discussion of the alternatives which European countries may adopt.
- ROY, LOUIS PHILIPPE. *Contemporary empire trade policy, with an analysis of the results of the British Empire Economic Conference* (Études économiques, Publications de l'École des Hautes Études Commerciales de Montréal, III, 1933, 159-99). With a bibliography.
- Shipping: An empire problem* (Round table, no. 94, March, 1934, 241-55). The article points out that the preservation of British shipping is of vital interest to the whole commonwealth.
- STIRLING, ALFRED. *Legal aspects of the Toronto Conference on British Commonwealth Relations* (Australian law journal, VII (11), March 15, 1934, 418-20).
- WEBB, Sir M. de P. *Links in the imperial chain* (Asiatic review, Oct., 1933, 693-7). Discusses inter-imperial air-lines.
- ZIMMERN, ALFRED. *The empire and the collective system* (Fortnightly review, no. 808, n.s., April, 1934, 441-9). A discussion of the conclusions of the British Commonwealth Relations Conference at Toronto, particularly with regard to the collective system for the maintenance of peace, and maintenance of the closest possible co-operation with the United States.

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

- BRUCHESI, JEAN. *Histoire du Canada pour tous*. Tome I: *Le régime français*. Documents historiques.) Montréal: Editions Albert Lévesque. 1933. Pp. 367. (\$1.25) To be reviewed later.
- HOLT, W. STULL. *Treaties defeated by the Senate: A study of the struggle between president and Senate over the conduct of foreign relations*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1933. Pp. vi, 328. (\$3.00) This is a scholarly treatment of the historic struggle between the executive and the Senate for the control of the foreign relations of the United States. Not all treaties have been defeated for this reason, for party politics and personal antipathy to an individual president have, of course, played their part, but unquestionably the fundamental conflict is deeper than persons and parties and Mr. Holt's work is an attempt to give these various reasons their proper and relative values. It is of particular interest to Canadians at the present juncture, because the St. Lawrence Waterway Treaty was defeated by the Senate a short time ago and will unquestionably come up for further consideration in the future (N.A.M. MacKENZIE).
- HULTZÉN, CLAUD H. *Old Fort Niagara: The story of an ancient gateway to the west*. Illustrated with pencil sketches of restored old Fort Niagara by CLARA RITTER. Published 1933 by Old Fort Niagara Association. Buffalo: Baker, Jones, Hausauer, 45 Carroll St. Pp. 46. The story of old Fort Niagara under the Iroquois Con-

federacy, France, England, and the United States, told principally through the biographies of Father Joseph de la Roche Dallion, Fathers Brébeuf and Chaumonot, La Salle, Louis Thomas de Joncaire, Sir William Johnson, etc. The booklet is attractively printed, with charming illustrations.

KEITH, BERRIEDALE. *The report of the Newfoundland Royal Commission* (Journal of comparative legislation and international law, series 3, XVI (1), Feb., 1934, 25-39). A discussion of the genesis of the commission, the characteristics of the report, the character of responsible government in Newfoundland, her economic and financial problems, and the solutions offered by the commission.

MCARTHUR, D. *Newfoundland* (Queen's quarterly, XLI (1), spring, 1934, 118-23). A résumé of the conditions which have created the present acute crisis in Newfoundland and of the historical background against which these conditions should be examined.

MACARTNEY, C. A. *National states and national minorities*. (Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.) Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. ix, 553. (\$5.50) The bulk of this book is devoted to a consideration of the arrangements that have been made to protect the rights of minorities in Europe under the treaties of peace and the League of Nations. The first 150 pages, however, give an outline of the development of nationalism and the national state, while the concluding chapters discuss possible solutions of the minority problem for the future. Naturally, it will or should be of greater interest to Europeans than to Canadians, but the existence of a variety of minority groups in Canada and the fact that Senator Dandurand has played a prominent part in the League's handling of minorities should recommend it to many Canadians as well (N. A. M. MACKENZIE).

MACPHAIL, SIR ANDREW. *Conservative—Liberal—Socialist* (University of Toronto Quarterly, III (3), April, 1934, 263-85). An inquiry into the meaning of the terms Conservative, Liberal, and Socialist, with particular reference to Canadian history and politics.

MILLER, HUNTER (ed.) *Treaties and other international acts of the United States of America*. Vol. 3: *Documents 41-79: 1819-35*. Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1933. Pp. xxiv, 833. (\$5.00 cloth) To be reviewed later.

Newfoundland (Round table, no. 94, March, 1934, 256-69). A discussion under the headings: "The causes of collapse", "The Amulree Commission", and "Reconstruction".

[NEWFOUNDLAND ROYAL COMMISSION, 1933.] *Report*. London: H.M.S.O. 1933. Pp. vi, 283. (5s. 6d.)

PIÉRARD, LOUIS. *Rimouski-puebla: Du Canada au Mexique*. (Collection Enquêtes.) Paris. Librairie Valois. 1931. (18 fr.)

SAUNDERS, A. C. *Newfoundland and the Channel Islands* (United empire, XXV (3), March, 1934, 153-8). An historical survey of the connection between Newfoundland and the Channel Islands.

TAIT, R. H. *The trail of the caribou*. Boston: Newfoundland Publishing Company. 1934. A survey in verse form of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment from its inception in August, 1914, to its last engagement on the western front in 1918.

WALKER, A. STANLEY. *Canada*. (Modern states series, no. 4.) London: Arrowsmith. Toronto, 84-6 Wellington Street, West. 1934. Pp. xii, 132. (3s. 6d.) To be reviewed later.

(2) New France

AUCLAIR, ELIE. J. *La famille Nantel* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (3), mars, 1934, 162-7).

- Contrat de mariage de Pierre Boucher et de Marie Chrétien* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (1), janv., 1934, 38-9).
- [COQUART, R. P.] *Une lettre du R. P. Coquart, S. J.* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (3), mars, 1934, 186-7). A letter dated Tadoussac, May 3, 1763, transcribed from the Archives of the Province of Quebec.
- Etat des services de François Mouet Louwigny* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (1), janv., 1934, 28-34). A detailed memoir (dated January 16, 1791) of the military services of a soldier who served in New France in the 1740's, '50's, and '60's.
- La famille Alavoine* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (2), fév., 1934, 122-3).
- La famille Becquet* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (3) mars, 1934, 129-31).
- La famille d'Aloigny de la Groye* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (3), mars, 1934, 188-9).
- La famille Dupont de Neuville* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (1), janv., 1934, 3-19).
- La famille Marchand* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (1), janv., 1934, 40-2).
- La famille You de la découverte* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (2), fév., 1934, 65-6).
- FAYE, STANLEY. *Joliet goes west* (Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XXVII (1), April, 1934, 5-30). The story of Joliet's explorations in the west.
- Fort Maurepas: A controversial foot-note in Canadian map making* (Beaver, outfit 264, no. 4, March, 1934, 23, 66). Speculations as to whether there was a Fort Maurepas on the Red River which antedated Fort Rouge (built in 1738).
- FRÉMONT, DONATIEN. *Pierre Radisson, roi des coureurs de bois*. Montréal: Editions Albert Lévesque. 1933. Pp. 264. (\$1.00) To be reviewed later.
- GRANDBOIS, ALAIN. *Né à Québec—Louis Jolliet, récit*. Paris: Albert Messein, éditeur. 1933. Pp. 256. (12 fr.) To be reviewed later.
- Les La Mothe du régime français* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (1), janv., 1934, 49-54).
- LARKIN, SARAH. *Three Rivers: A tale of New France*. Decorations by CHARLES KIRTLAND STEVENS. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1934. Pp. 93. (\$2.00) An epic poem of New France, relating the story of a French noble who becomes a *coureur de bois*. The author has carefully studied the early history of Canada, Indian life of the period, and the locality about which she is writing.
- Lettre du ministre à M. Raudot* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (3), mars, 1934, 170-85). A letter dated Versailles, June 9, 1706, giving instructions concerning a large and varied number of matters in connection with the administration of the colony. From the Archives of the Province of Quebec.
- Liste des officiers des troupes de Canada pour estre avancés au mois de may 1706* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (3), mars, 1934, 169). From the Public Archives of Canada.
- LYON, E. WILSON. *Louisiana in French diplomacy, 1759-1804*. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press. 1934. Pp. 268. (\$3.00) Reviewed on page 204.
- Marriage contract between Pre Lemoine D'Iberville and Marie Therese Pollet de la Combe October 8, 1693*. Translated by the late HELOISE H. CRUZAT in collaboration with the editor (Louisiana historical quarterly, XVII (2), April, 1934, 242-5).

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Droit d'aînesse et droit de primogéniture* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (1), janv., 1934, 20-3). An investigation into the law of primogeniture in Canada.

Un mariage à Niagara en 1754 (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (2), fév., 1934, 107-8). A résumé of a marriage contract drawn up in 1754 by Jean Baptiste Lajus, récollet, chaplain of Fort St. Louis at Niagara, between Claude-Clément Hurin dit Aimable, and Marie Amable Charlan. The document is interesting as furnishing names of officers, functionaries, merchants, etc., who were in the upper country in 1754.

Y a-t-il eu une Soeur Cabassier dite Cadieux? (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (3), mars, 1934, 132-4).

MILLER, ROSCOE B. *Baron of Saint Castine—American pioneer* (Americana, XXVIII (1), 1934, 92-7). Details about the life of a French nobleman who came to New France in the Carignan-Salières Regiment, and was granted a tract of land in Acadia.

ROY, CHARLES-EUGÈNE. *Emplacement de la croix de Cartier à Gaspé* (Canada français, XXI(6), fév., 1934, 502-15). The author attempts to show, with the aid of a sketch map, where Cartier planted his cross on his first voyage.

SANDERS, ALBERT GODFREY (trans.) *Documents concerning the Crozat regime in Louisiana, 1712-1717*. Third installment. Introduction by HENRY P. DART (Louisiana historical quarterly, XVII (2), April, 1934, 268-93). The present instalment (translated from copies of the original documents of the French archives in the Department of Archives and History of Mississippi) covers one-half of a long report made by Duclos to the ministry in France, written in October, 1713, with reference to his conflict with Cadillac.

(3) British North America before 1867

ADAMS, REED McC. B. *New Orleans and the War of 1812*. Fourth and fifth installments (Louisiana historical quarterly, XVII (1), Jan., 1934, 169-82; (2) April, 349-63). The fourth instalment consists of chapter iv, "British invasion and local preparations"; the fifth instalment covers December 23, 1814 to January 8, 1815.

BOND, BEVERLEY W. *The civilization of the Old Northwest: A study of political, social, and economic development, 1788-1812*. New York: The Macmillan Company. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1934. Pp. ix, 543. (\$4.25) To be reviewed later.

BRADLEY, A. G. *The founders of British Canada* (Fortnightly review, CXXXV, n.s., May, 1934, 600-8). The main outlines of the story of the United Empire Loyalists.

BULEY, R. CARLYLE. *Pioneer health and medical practices in the Old North-west prior to 1830* (Mississippi valley historical review, XX (4), March, 1934, 497-520).

C., H. *Jean Digé, premier député de Cornwallis* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (1), janv., 1934, 55-62). An account of the life of the first deputy from Cornwallis County to the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada.

CRUIKSHANK, E. A. (ed.) *The settlement of the United Empire Loyalists on the upper St. Lawrence and Bay of Quinte in 1784: A documentary record*. Toronto: Published by the Ontario Historical Society. 1934. Pp. xiv, 188. (\$2.00) Reviewed on page 205.

DAVIDSON, PHILIP G. *Whig propagandists of the American Revolution* (American historical review, XXXIX (3), April, 1934, 442-53). A rapid sketch of revolutionary propagandists and a concrete example of how they handled a specific problem—the defeatist movement of 1778.

DEARBORN, F. M. *Arnold's expedition to Quebec, 1775* (Field artillery journal, Sept.-Oct., 1933).

- GABRIEL, GILBERT W. (Gilly Bear, pseud.) *I, James Lewis*. New York: Doubleday Doran. 1932. Pp. 334. (\$2.50) A story based on the expedition to Vancouver Island, in 1810-1, of the *Tonquin*, a fur-trading venture of J. J. Astor.
- GOWER, R. H. G. LEVESON. *William Tomison* (Beaver, outfit 264, no. 4, March, 1934, 24-5, 66). The subject of this sketch joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1760. He was the first Englishman to visit the site of Winnipeg and later developed the fur-trade on the Saskatchewan River.
- GUTTRIDGE, G. H. *The Whig opposition in England during the American Revolution* (Journal of modern history, VI (1), March, 1934, 1-13). A paper read before the American Historical Association, Toronto, 1932.
- HEADLAM, CECIL (ed.) *Calendar of state papers, colonial series, America and the West Indies, January, 1710-February, 1720*. Preserved in the Public Record Office. London: H.M.S.O. 1933. Pp. lxiii, 435. (30s.). *March, 1720 to December, 1721*. 1933. Pp. 588. (35s.)
- HOWAY, F. W. *Authorship of traits of Indian life* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXV (1), March, 1934, 42-9). Some consideration of the probable authorship of the anonymous volume, *Traits of American Indian life and character*, recently re-issued by the Grabhorn Press, San Francisco, and reviewed in the REVIEW for March, 1934, p. 88.
- HUMPHREYS, R. A. *Lord Shelburne and the Proclamation of 1763* (English historical review, XLIX (194), April, 1934, 241-64). The purpose of this article is to examine afresh the evidence upon which to base an account of the genesis of the royal proclamation of October 7, 1763.
- IRWIN, RAY W. *The capture of Washington in 1814 as described by Mordecai Booth, with introduction and notes* (Americana, XXVIII (1), 1934, 7-27). A vivid description of the British occupation of Washington by a clerk in the United States Navy Department.
- JAMES, JAMES ALTON. *The Northwest: Gift or conquest?* (Indiana magazine of history, XXX(1), March, 1934, 1-15). A discussion of the question as to how far George Rogers Clark was in military control of the Old North-west when peace was concluded in 1783, and what effect his achievements had in winning this territory for the United States.
- JOHNSON, WALTER S. *Pastor invictus; or Rebellion in St. Eustache*. Montreal: Quality Press Limited. The author, 388 St. James Street West. 1931. Pp. 76. (\$1.00) This is a long short story or sketch, rather than a novel, of the military and political drama of 1837 in St. Eustache in the Province of Quebec. In a serene and leisurely style, the author narrates an incident in the Lower Canadian Rebellion—the rescue of St. Eustache from the perils of rebellion by its curé, Father Pierre Paquin. It is a story which merited publication in permanent form, and Mr. Johnson has presented it in a very readable manner. We welcome books of this type which indicate that Canadian history is being used more and more as a background for Canadian literature.
- Journal from New York to Canada, 1767* (New York history, XIII (3), July, 1932, 305-22).
- Journal of the commissioners for trade and plantations from January 1754 to December 1758*, preserved in the Public Record Office. London: H.M.S.O. 1933. Pp. iv, 479. Of interest to students of Canadian history are the complaints about the French on the Ohio, brief references to ordnance and defenses, and passages about commissions to bribe the Indians.
- Journal tenu pendant le siège du Fort Saint-Jean, en 1775, par feu M. Foucher, ancien notaire de Montréal* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (3), mars, 1934, 135-59). The journal reproduced here is taken from the copy in the Public Archives of Canada.

- LAPORTE, LIONEL A. *Le Dr Simon Fraser, de Terrebonne* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL(1), janv., 1934, 45).
- LAUB, C. H. *The problem of armed invasion of the Northwest during the American Revolution* (Virginia magazine of history and biography, Jan., 1934).
- LOTBINIÈRE-HARWOOD, C. A. de. *L'honorable M. E.-G.-A. Chartier de Lotbinière* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL(2), fév., 1934, 67-103). A collection of documents, letters, etc., concerning M. E. G. A. Chartier de Lotbinière (1748-1822), legislative councillor of Lower Canada, commemorating the third centenary of the concession of the seignior of Rigaud.
- MACWETHY, LOU D. (comp.) *The book of names especially relating to the early Palatine's and the first settlers in the Mohawk valley*. St. Johnsville, N.Y.: The Enterprise and News. 1933. Pp. 210. (\$5.00) Contains lists of the names of the militiamen of the French and Indian war, colonial prisoners of war, volunteers on the Canadian expedition of 1711, Sir William Johnson's retainers, etc.
- MANNING, HELEN TAFT. *British colonial government after the American Revolution, 1782-1820*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1933. Pp. xii, 568. (\$4.00) See page 62 of last issue.
- NOLAN, J. BENNETT. *Lafayette in America day by day*. (Historical documents, Institut français de Washington, cahier VII.) Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1934. Pp. x, 324. (\$2.75) This beautifully printed book has a space for every day of Lafayette's four visits to America, 1777-9, 1780-1, 1784, 1824-5. There are many blank days in the record but a note is inserted for each day on which his movements are known. The book is a product of the cult of Lafayette. Few will care to track him day by day in this way (G. M. WRONG).
- PHILLIPS, PAUL C. (ed.) *Family letters of two Oregon fur traders, 1828-1856* (Frontier and midland, Nov., 1933). Intimate personal letters from John Work and Archibald MacDonald to Edward Ermatinger. The original letters are in the Public Archives of Canada and the Provincial Library, Victoria, B.C.
- PIPES, NELLIE B. (ed.) *The memorial of John Mears to the House of Commons respecting the capture of vessels in Nootka Sound*. With an introduction and notes. (Limited and numbered edition of northwest reprints.) Portland, Oregon: Metropolitan Press. 1933. Pp. xiv, 92. To be reviewed later.
- PROCTER, JONATHAN. *Diary kept at Louisburg, 1759-1760* (Essex Institute historical collections, Jan., 1934).
- SHANNON, M. JOSEPHINE. *Two forgotten patriots* (Dalhousie review, XIV (1), April, 1934, 85-98). A paper read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society, which gives an outline of two Nova Scotians who figured in the struggle for Confederation—William Garvie and Pierce Stevens Hamilton.
- WHITELAW, WILLIAM MENZIES. *The Maritimes and Canada before Confederation*. With a foreword by the Right Honourable Sir ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. x, 328. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.
- (4) **The Dominion of Canada**
- BASTEDO, FRANK L. *Amending the British North America Act* (Canadian bar review, XII (4), April, 1934, 209-26). A careful, legal study of how to amend the B.N.A. Act.
- BENNETT, A. B. *The Jew in Canada: A reply* (Canadian forum, XIV (164), May, 1934, 306-8).
- BENNETT, TYLER. *John Hay: From poetry to politics*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co. 1933. Pp. 476. (\$3.75) Reviewed on page 207.

BOVEY, WILFRID. *General Sir Arthur Currie: An appreciation* (Canadian defence quarterly, XI (2), Jan., 1934, 141-51). A review of the life, achievements, and character of the late Sir Arthur Currie.

[CANADA, DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS.] *Canada, 1934: The official handbook of present conditions and recent progress*. Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, King's Printer. 1934. Pp. 192. For the most part the 1934 edition of this useful and popular statistical handbook follows the same plan as the 1933 handbook. Two chapters, however, on "The physiography of Canada and its influence on the settlement of the country", and "Salient events of Canadian history to the outbreak of the Great War", have been added.

Canada and world peace: A national study project. Radio addresses delivered over the national network of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (Interdependence, Journal of the League of Nations Society in Canada, XI (1), April, 1934, 36-92). Consists of introductory remarks by Sir ROBERT L. BORDEN; "Canadian responsibilities" by the Hon. ERNEST LAPOINTE; "Why should Canadians be interested in world peace?" by Lieut.-Col. GEO. A. DREW; "How is peace to be maintained? By international co-operation (the collective system) or by force?" by President R. C. WALLACE; "What does partnership in a collective system involve for Canada?" by Dr. H. F. MUNRO; "What might happen to Canada if the collective system were abandoned?" by the Hon. IRENE PARLBY; "Present obstacles to peace" by Mrs. H. P. PLUMPTRE; "How can we work for peace in Canada?" by J. M. MACDONNELL; "How can Canada work for peace in the world?" by T. W. L. MACDERMOT; Summary and review by BROOKE CLAXTON.

Le Canada et la paix mondiale: Un projet d'étude national: Discours radiodiffusé. Ottawa: Ligue de la Société des Nations au Canada. 1934. Five pamphlets of radio addresses on Canada and world peace: Sénateur R. DANDURAND, "Plaidoyer pour la Société des Nations" (pp. 6); Sénateur C. P. BEAUBIEN, "Désarmement" (pp. 8); Mme CHARLES FRÉMONT, "Comment peut-on travailler au Canada pour la paix?" (pp. 6); Mme PIERRE CASGRAIN, "La part du Canada au maintien de la paix mondiale" (pp. 8); L'Hon. MAURICE DUPRÉ, "Résumé et revue" (pp. 6).

Canada: The political scene (Round table, no. 94, March, 1934, 386-93). A résumé of the present political situation.

The Canadian annual review of public affairs (founded by J. Castell Hopkins), 1933. Thirty-second year of issue. Toronto: The Canadian Review Company, Ltd. 1934. Pp. 660. To be reviewed later.

DEACON, WILLIAM ARTHUR. *My vision of Canada*. Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Company, Ltd. 1933. Pp. 309. (\$2.50) At the beginning of this book the author tells us: "My intention is to stimulate nationalism." This intention may explain the uncritical character of the work. There is an attempt to play upon the vanity of Canadians, but no attempt at an objective treatment of Canada's past, present, or likely future. Mr. Deacon's vision is that "before the year 2000 Canada's world dominance will be as undisputed a fact as any commonplace of history". But Mr. Deacon gives no adequate analysis of the resources of Canada, human and material, to justify so radiant a faith. His survey of Canadian natural resources resembles a circular letter sent out by a high-pressure mining broker. He refers to Canadian nationality, but does not point out to what extent its vitality is sapped by a sectionalism patent to every thoughtful observer of the Canadian scene. He considers that "the cardinal fact in Canada's early history" is that the country was settled by people seeking homes. Just how this fact distinguishes Canada from the United States, Australia, New Zealand, or any other colonized country, ancient or modern, the reader is left wondering. Indeed the reader is forced to wonder at numerous strange remarks in *My vision of Canada*. The chapter on "Our neighbours" has, perhaps, the largest number of gems, and among them the following attempt at prophecy: "There will exist south of us a people so much more childlike in their attitudes towards life that even if we should become as irresponsible as the average white American of to-day—which we shall not—the national distinctions will still be as wide as, say, that between a contemporary white American and a Mexican" (A. BRADY).

- DELABY, JEAN. *La race française au Canada d'après le recensement de 1931* (France-Canada, déc., 1934, 250-2).
- EASTMAN, S. MACK. *Canada's stand on article ten* (Interdependence, Journal of the League of Nations Society in Canada, X (3 and 4), Sept. and Dec., 1933, 167-72). An interesting and informing survey.
- EGGLESTON, WILFRID. *Canada's party of the left* (Current history, Jan., 1934, 416-20). A discussion of the strength, supporters, policy, and difficulties of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.
- GELLY, GEORGES. *L'évolution du statut international du Canada* (Études économiques, Publications de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales de Montréal, III, 1933, 292-329). Traces the constitutional evolution of the last twenty years and outlines Canada's present status. Contains a bibliography.
- L'honorable juge Charles-Borromée Rouleau* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (1), janv., 1934, 64). A note on the life of Judge Rouleau, 1840-1901.
- INNIS, HAROLD A. *Mackenzie, Sir William (1849-1923)* (Encyclopaedia of the social sciences edited by EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN *et al.*, X, New York, 1933, 28-9). A biographical note and a bibliography.
- *Mount Stephen, first baron, George Stephen (1820-1921)* (Encyclopaedia of the social sciences edited by EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN *et al.*, XI, New York, 1933, 78-9). A brief biographical sketch and a bibliography.
- [KERALLAIN, RENÉ de.] *Correspondance de René de Kerallain, 1880-1928*. Publiée par Madame René de Kerallain née de Bigault d'Avocourt. Tome 1: 16 décembre 1880-5 mai 1906. Quimper: Imprimerie Bargain, 1, quai du Steir. 1932. Pp. 397. To be reviewed later.
- LANGLAIS, ANTONIO. *Le Général McRea a-t-il raison?* (Canada français, XXI (8), avril, 1934, 735-7). A brief debate on the proposal that Canada should retire from the League of Nations.
- LANGLOIS, GEORGES. *Les Canadiens français et la Confédération canadienne* (Actualité économique, 10 année, no. 1, avril, 1934, 1-12). A statistical and historical study of population, migrations, and birthrate, with relation to the fate of the French-Canadian population in the Canadian Confederation.
- LOWER, A. R. M. *Democracy and parliament* (Dalhousie review, XIV (1), April, 1934, 5-15). A discussion of the origin and theory of Canadian democracy.
- McARTHUR, D. *Revision of the constitution* (Queen's quarterly, XLI (1), spring, 1934, 124-8). A discussion of the suggested revision of two aspects of the federal constitution—the composition of the Senate and the distribution of sovereign powers between the dominion and the provinces.
- McCULLOUGH, STEWART. *The future of the Jew in Canada* (Canadian forum, XIV (163), 1934, 253-6).
- MACDONALD, VINCENT C. *Canada's power to perform treaty obligations* (Canadian bar review, XI (9), Nov., 1933, 581-99; (10), Dec., 1933, 664-80). A consideration of the treaty-making power of Canada, its development, and the various forms in which treaties were made prior to 1867, in the period subsequent thereto, and those in which they are made to-day; and an examination of "the capacity of the Parliament and Government of Canada to perform the obligations of Canada under treaties properly made and binding in their effect".
- MACPHAIL, SIR ANDREW. *Sir Arthur Currie* (Queen's quarterly, XLI (1), spring, 1934, 1-19). An estimate of the personality and achievements of the late Sir Arthur Currie by the professor of the history of medicine in McGill University.

- REID, ESCOTT. *Canada and the League* (Interdependence, Journal of the League of Nations Society in Canada, XI (1), April, 1934, 17-29). An abridgement of a memorandum prepared by Mr. Reid, who is secretary of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, summarizing the measures which Canada might take in order to assist in creating an effective collective system.
- *Can the League be saved?* (Canadian forum, XIV (163), April, 1934, 248-51). A second article on Canadian foreign policy.
- SCOTT, F. R. *Social reconstruction and the B.N.A. Act.* (L. S. R. pamphlet no. 4.) Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1934. Pp. 38. (23 cents) Discusses the question: "Is the C.C.F. programme possible under the British North America Act?"
- Sitting Bulls Zug nach Kanada.* (Berühmte Indianerhauptlinge, 48.) Berlin: Neues Verlagshaus f. Volksliteratur. 1932. Pp. 32. (M. 20)
- STEEL-MAITLAND, Sir ARTHUR. *Canada and the United States: Impressions of the crisis at first hand* (United empire, XXV (4), April, 1934, 206-10).
- TASCHEREAU, L. A. *Whither are we drifting?* (Quebec, IX (1), Feb., 1934, 2-6). A translation of an address which appeared in the *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, janv.-mars, 1934, on Canada's course since Confederation and whither it is leading.
- UNDERHILL, F. H. *Democracy and leadership in Canada* (Canadian forum, XIV (163), April, 1934, 246-8). A comment on the ineffectiveness of Canadian democratic leaders to-day.
- *Parties, political: Canada* (*Encyclopaedia of the social sciences* edited by EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN et al, XI, New York, 1933, 604-5). An outline of party divisions.
- VESTAL, STANLEY. *Sitting Bull, champion of the Sioux: A biography.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company. 1932. Pp. xvii, 350. (\$3.50) Contains an account of his association with Father De Smet, his sojourn in Canada, etc. Has a bibliography.
- ZIMMERN, ALFRED. *Responsibilities of Canadians* (Interdependence, Journal of the League of Nations Society in Canada, X (3 and 4), Sept. and Dec., 1933, 189-98). The text of an address about Canada and world peace delivered over the national network of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission on Dec. 3, 1933.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

- BOOTH, W. *Journal on a tour, with Genl. Campbell in July & August 1785* (Report of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1933, 42-51). A journal on a tour of inspection containing racy descriptions of men and things in the Maritime Provinces in 1785.
- [DESCHAMPS, ISAAC.] *Sketch of the Province of Nova Scotia 1792* (Report of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1933, 35-41). A sketch, which was written progressively and completed in 1782, of Nova Scotia as it was just before the Loyalist migration.
- HARVEY, D. C. *The heritage of the Maritimes* (Dalhousie review, XIV (1), April, 1934, 28-32). A radio address which outlines the natural, biological, social, and political heritages of the Maritime Provinces.
- MILNER, W. C. *Grand Pré: A chapter in colonial history.* (Reprinted from the *Acadian*, Wolfville, N.S.) Edmonton: The author, 11618 100th Avenue. 1932. Pp. 30.
- MOODY, H. *Political experiences in Nova Scotia, 1867-1869* (Dalhousie review, XIV (1), April, 1934, 65-76). An article which is interesting as an inside story of certain incidents in the repeal agitation of 1868 in Nova Scotia. The author (a secretary of Lieutenant-Governor Doyle) looking backward over fifty years, views his own political finesse.

[MORRIS, CHAS and BULKELEY, RICH.] *State and condition of the Province of Nova Scotia together with some observations &c 20th October 1763* (Report of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1933, 21-7). An informative account of Nova Scotia in 1763, at the peak of the New England migration, and a picture of the province, between Morris's report of 1761 and the census of 1767, by the surveyor-general and the provincial secretary of the province.

MULLANE, GEORGE. *Old inns and coffee houses of Halifax* (Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXII, 1933, 1-23). A delightful account with interesting details of early days in Halifax.

[NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.] *Collections*, volume 22. Halifax: Printed for the society by Wm. Macnab and Son. 1933. Pp. xxix, 153, xiv. Besides the society's report, its act of incorporation, rules and by-laws, and lists of officers and members, this volume contains a sketch of the history of "Fifty years of the Nova Scotia Historical Society", by the president, and five interesting and valuable papers relating to Nova Scotian history, which receive individual notice and comment in this list of publications. The list of papers read before the society and the contents of the twenty-two volumes of the *Collections* which are printed in the back of the volume, are indicative of the excellent work which is being done by the society. Unfortunately this volume is badly printed with an unnecessarily large number of typographical errors.

PACIFIQUE, R. P. *Le pays des Micmacs* (Etudes historiques et géographiques—Extraits du bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec—(10) 1928, 175-215; (11) 1932, 215-64; (14) 1934, 265-321). A list of 2,500 geographic names of the Maritime Provinces, Gaspé, and Newfoundland, in the Micmac language, with their meaning and their corresponding English or French names, and with copious historical and geographical notes.

PIERS, HARRY. *The old peninsular blockhouses and road at Halifax, 1751: Their history, description and location* (Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXII, 1933, 97-153). In part I the author, who has personally surveyed this old defensive line, reconstructs the history of the blockhouses and of the patrol road; in part II he gives a detailed description of them and identifies their location.

Report of the present state and condition of his majesty's Province of Nova Scotia, 1773 (Report of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1933, 28-34). An official report—made in response to a series of specific questions asked of all colonial governors by Lord Dartmouth—which gives an authoritative account of Nova Scotia on the eve of the American Revolution.

STORY, D. A. *H. M. naval yard, Halifax, in the early sixties* (Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXII, 1933, 43-71). An interesting description containing valuable detailed information, with a plan, charts of officers, and lists of vessels.

(2) The Province of Quebec

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *French settlement on the St. Lawrence* (Dalhousie review, XIV (1), April, 1934, 77-84). A description of the growth and features of the island of Orleans.

CANNON, ROBERT. *Les Trois-Rivières et les familles Dumoulin et Cannon* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (2), fév., 1934, 109-16). Genealogical tables.

KEITH, J. E. *The Fascist province* (Canadian forum, XIV (163), April, 1934, 251-2). A comment on present political tendencies in Quebec.

MOORE, ARTHUR HENRY. *The valley of the Richelieu*. St. John, Que.: E. R. Smith Company.

PACIFIQUE, R. P. *Saint-Antoine de Longueuil* (Etudes historiques et géographiques—Extrait du bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec—(12) 1932, 1-12). A history of one of the oldest parishes of Canada, which is situated not far from Montreal.

[QUEBEC, PROVINCE OF: DEPARTMENT OF MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS: BUREAU OF STATISTICS.] *Statistical year book, 19th year.* Quebec: Rédempti Paradis. 1932. Pp. xxvii, 477. There is really very little to add to reviews of previous issues of this useful publication. It is interesting to note that in 1930 the average salary in manufacturing in the province was \$2,018, considerably above the dominion average of \$1,982, while the average wage was \$920, considerably below the dominion average of \$1,001. The average salary of lay teachers in the Roman Catholic schools in 1929-30 was \$1,641 for men, \$397 for women; in the Protestant schools, \$2,540 and \$1,120. The death-rate in the province, though still the highest in Canada, is decreasing, and decreasing faster than in the other provinces. So is the infant mortality rate, though it is still far higher than for the other provinces (EUGENE FORSEY).

ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *Fils de Québec.* 4 volumes. Lévis, P.Q.: 1933. Pp. 196; 196; 196; 196. A valuable series of brief, condensed biographies, arranged in chronological order, of eminent citizens of Quebec city. Volume I begins with Louis Couillard de Lespinay, born at Quebec in 1629 and volume IV ends with Jean-Baptiste Laliberté (1843-1926). Each volume contains an index of names, a fact which adds very considerably to the usefulness of a work which embodies the result of indefatigable research on the part of the archivist of the Province of Quebec.

Les juges de la Province de Québec. (Publié par le service des Archives du gouvernement de la Province de Québec.) Québec: Rédempti Paradis. 1933. Pp. xxvii, 588. This invaluable and useful dictionary of the judges of the Province of Quebec since the conquest, has been compiled by the archivist of the province. The names are arranged in alphabetical order; there is a photograph of each judge and a page of brief biographical information concerning his life and work. M. Roy has supplied an introduction on "L'organisation judiciaire de la Province de Québec sous le régime anglais", a list of the judges arranged under the headings of their various courts, and an index of names. The volume is well printed on heavy paper.

SENECAL, GÉRARD. *La Tuque et le Haut St-Maurice (Etudes économiques,* Publications de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales de Montréal, III, 1933, 7-36). A descriptive account of the town of La Tuque and the region of the upper St. Maurice River, P.Q., with information about industries, natural resources, etc.

(3) The Province of Ontario

DUFF, LOUIS BLAKE. *The romance of our place-names: A series of eight radio addresses, February 20 to April 10, 1934, station CKTB, St. Catharines.* Fort Erie, Ontario: The Review Company. 1934. Pp. 22. A series of very interesting and delightful addresses on the place names of Ontario. Mr. Duff investigates the Indian, French, and English names and throws fascinating sidelights on their historical background and romance.

The hospitals of Ontario: A short history. Compiled by the Hospitals Division of the Department of Health, Ontario. Toronto: Herbert H. Ball. Printer to the king's most excellent majesty. 1934. Pp. 289. (\$2.00) Reviewed on page 212.

McDOWELL, F. E. D. *It was a handsome square* (Canadian National Railways magazine, XX (4) April, 1934, 7, 30). A note on old Toronto—a description of Court House Square and the old gaol.

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Orillia, Orilla et Orillat* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (3), mars, 1934, 160-1). A note on the origin of the name of Orillia in Simcoe County, Ontario.

(4) The Prairie Provinces

GOODENOUGH, CECILIA. *Homesteading in north-west Canada* (Geographical journal, LXXXIII (3), March, 1934, 191-202). A description of homesteading in the Peace River block, which has been opened up by the dominion government as homesteading land for Canadian farmers.

LAING, HAMILTON M. *Our Canadian deserts* (Canadian geographical journal, VIII (3), March, 1934, 135-41). A description of the dry lands of western Canada.

MACKINTOSH, W. A. *Prairie settlement: The geographical setting*. (Canadian frontiers of settlement edited by W. A. MACKINTOSH and W. L. G. JOERG, vol. I.) Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1934. Pp. xv, 242. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.

PATERSON, D. *Some ships and sailors of Lake Winnipeg* (Beaver, outfit 264, no. 4, March, 1934, 53-4).

POLLARD, W. C. *Pioneering in the prairie west*. London: Arthur H. Stockwell. N.d. Pp. 110. (3s. 6d.) This volume is an extension and re-arrangement, with a number of additional illustrations, of the author's *Pioneering in the prairie west: A sketch of the Parry Sound colonies that settled near Edmonton, N.W.T., in the early nineties* (Toronto, Nelson, 1926), reviewed in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, VII, 1926, p. 356.

TURNER, JOHN PETER. *Buffalo days on Red River* (Canadian geographical journal, VIII (2), Feb., 1934, 63-72).

WEEKES, MARY. *Poundmaker the peacemaker* (Canadian magazine, April, 1934, 10, 29-30). The story of the Cree chief's continued opposition to the rebellion of 1885 in the North-west.

WILBOIS, JOSEPH. *Un pays neuf: L'ouest canadien*. Paris: Librairie Valois, 3 Place du Panthéon. 1931. Pp. 262. The author begins with a general description of the Prairie Provinces and proceeds to describe and discuss the farms and agriculture of the west, the towns and cities, the large companies, the universities, and the spiritual, religious, and social life.

(5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

CLARK, ROBERT CARLTON. *Hawaiians in early Oregon* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXV (1), March, 1934, 22-31). Data on the early relation of the Hawaiian Islands with the Pacific North-west and the part played by Hawaiians in the economic development of Oregon.

FRIPP, EDWARD FITZ-GERALD. *Clearing land in coastal British Columbia* (Blackwood's magazine, March, 1934, 425-33).

GROVE, FREDERICK PHILIP. *The Rockies versus the Alps* (Canadian geographical journal, VII (6), Dec., 1933, 261-74). An attempt to describe the essential difference between the Rockies and the Alps.

HOWAY, F. W. *The brig Owhyhee in the Columbia, 1829-30* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXV (1), March, 1934, 10-21). A condensation of the ship's log book for her voyage of 1829-30 on the North-west coast.

JONES, STEPHEN B. *Mining and tourist towns in the Canadian Rockies* (Economic geography, IX (4), Oct., 1933, 368-78).

PIPES, NELLIE B. *Journal of John H. Frost, 1840-43* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXV (1), March, 1934, 50-73). Portions of the journal of the Rev. John H. Frost, Methodist missionary to Oregon, which throw sidelights on life and travel on the North-west coast in the 1840's.

SAGE, WALTER N. *Life at a fur trading post in British Columbia a century ago* (Washington historical quarterly, XXV (1), Jan., 1934, 11-12).

TAIT, W. McD. *Trail blazing across the Rockies* (Canadian magazine, March, 1934, 12, 50). The story of the forging of the last link of the boundary line between Canada and the United States, as told by John George Brown.

(6) North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

GIBB, W.K. *Eight hundred miles on the Yukon* (Canadian geographical journal, VIII (3), March, 1934, 123-34). An account of travelling, several years ago, over the trail of '98, with a view to a study of placer gold-mining and the general economic development of the Yukon-Alaska area.

GODSELL, PHILIP H. *Old trails to the Arctic* (Canadian geographical journal, VIII (4), April, 1934, 151-62). A descriptive account, with historical comments, of the present-day route from Edmonton to Aklavik.

LONGSTRETH, THOMAS MORRIS. *In scarlet and plain clothes*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1933. (\$2.00) A story, for boys, of the Mounted Police in 1874, of Sitting Bull, and the Yukon trail.

MUNN, HENRY TOKE. *Prairie trails and Arctic by-ways*. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1932. Pp. 288. (12s. 6d.) An account of travels over a period of thirty-five years of a sportsman, rancher, prospector, miner, explorer, and fur-trader, in northern Canada, the Klondike, and the Canadian Arctic. Throws sidelights on the gold-rush of '98.

STAGG, J. M. *The British polar year expedition, 1932-33* (Beaver, outfit 264, no. 4, March, 1934, 20-2). The preliminary report of the British scientists who carried out a programme of geophysical observational work at Fort Rae, N.W.T.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS**(1) General**

ANDREWS, CLARENCE L. *Russian shipbuilding in the American colonies* (Washington historical quarterly, XXV (1), Jan., 1934, 3-10). An account of ship-building by the Russian American Company on the North-west coast.

BROOKS, J. CHADWICK. *H B C and "the old lady"* (Beaver, outfit 264, no. 4, March, 1934, 32-3, 64). An indication of the Hudson's Bay Company's association with the Bank of England through two hundred years.

Canada: The Tariff Board and tariff policy (Round table, no. 94, March, 1934, 394-402). A consideration of the new Canadian Tariff Board, the nature of its task and its prospects of discharging it satisfactorily.

Canadian trade policy in a world of economic nationalism (Queen's quarterly, XLI (1), spring, 1934, 81-98). The fourth and last of a series of articles prepared by the members of the Department of Political and Economic Science and of the Course in Commerce of Queen's University.

DUBÉ, DOLLARD. *Les vieilles forges il y a 60 ans*. (Pages trifluvienues, série A, no. 4.) Les Trois-Rivières: Les éditions du Bien Public. 1933. Pp. 63. A collection of information, gathered from numerous sources, on the Saint Maurice forges.

Etudes économiques: Thèses présentées à la "Licence en Sciences commerciales" en mai 1933. (Publications de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales de Montréal.) Volume III. Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1933. Pp. 440. (\$2.50) Reviewed on page 209.

GRANT, RUTH FULTON. *The Canadian Atlantic fishery*. With an editorial preface by H. A. INNIS. Toronto: Ryerson Press. Pp. xxiii, 147. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Toile importée et toile du pays sous le régime français* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (2), fév., 1934, 104-6).

Old and new by the Anglican bishop of the Arctic (Beaver, outfit 264, no. 4, March, 1934, 36-8). The old form of trading from whaling vessels with the Eskimos of Baffin Land is contrasted with the modern method of the Hudson's Bay Company.

PARIZEAU, GÉRARD. *Notes et documents sur l'évolution de l'assurance contre l'incendie au Canada* (Actualité économique, 10 année, no. 1, avril, 1934, 24-35). An historical study in three periods, before 1804 (dealing with the French period, etc.), from 1804 to 1867, and from 1867 to the present day.

(2) Communications

APPLETON, W. U. *Railroading across Canada* (Canadian National Railways magazine, XX (3), March, 1934, 6-7, 32). The first of a series of articles describing the Canadian National system district by district. Mr. Appleton deals with the Atlantic region—New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and the eastern portion of Quebec south of the St. Lawrence River—giving a history of the railroad and a description of its present operations.

FOND, F. L. C. *Railroading across Canada: The Montreal district* (Canadian National Railways magazine, XX (5), May, 1934, 6-7, 32).

CHEVRIER, JEAN. *Les services maritimes du Canada* (Études économiques, Publications de l'École des Hautes Études Commerciales de Montréal, III, 1933, 357-99). Discusses the administration, characteristics, and advantages of Canada's principal sea ports, the possibilities of a Canadian merchant marine, the St. Lawrence route, etc. With an extensive bibliography.

COTTER, H. M. S. *The ship "Prince of Wales"* (Beaver, outfit 264, no. 4, March, 1934, 42-4). The story of a ship built in 1850 for the Hudson's Bay Company.

MORAZAIN, J. E. *Railroading across Canada* (Canadian National Railways magazine, XX (4), April, 1932, 5-6). Describes the Quebec district of the C.N.R.

WILLIAMS, MAYNARD OWEN. *By car and steamer around our inland seas* (National geographic magazine, LXV (4), April, 1934, 451-91). A description of a tour by road and water of the Great Lakes, with notes on, and a number of interesting illustrations of, shipping on the lakes.

WILSON, H. B. *Economic objections to the St. Lawrence Waterway project* (Public utilities fortnightly, Feb. 15, 1934).

(3) Immigration, Emigration, and Colonization

CÔTÉ, LÉVI. *La portée nationale et religieuse de la colonisation* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, IV (2), avril-juin, 1934, 205-13). Observations on the religious and patriotic background of past and present French-Canadian colonization.

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *L'émigration aux États-Unis il y a 40 ans et plus* (11ème partie) (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL(2), fév., 1934, 121). From the Parish of Saint Séverin, Champlain County.

MORRISON, MURDOCH DANIEL. *The migration of Scotch settlers from St. Ann's, Nova Scotia, to New Zealand, 1851-1860* (Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXII, 1933, 73-95). A short sketch of happenings in the vicinity of St. Ann's from the earliest times, the story of the immigration from the highlands and islands of Scotland at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and of the subsequent migration to New Zealand under the Rev. Norman McLeod.

QUIRING, WALTER. *The Canadian Mennonite immigration into the Paraguayan Chaco, 1926-27* (Mennonite quarterly review, VIII (1), Jan., 1934, 32-42).

(4) Geography

PACIFIQUE, R. P. *Études historiques et géographiques*. (Extraits du Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, 1928, 1932, 1934). Contents are listed separately.

ROTHERY, JULIAN E. *The newest map of the oldest British colony: A map of Newfoundland, 1932*. (Reprinted from the Geographical review, XXIII (4), Oct., 1933, 564-77.) The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW has received a copy of this excellent and useful map of Newfoundland described herein. It is compiled (1933, revised and re-

printed, 1934) by the Forest Engineering Department, International Paper Company, New York city, from original company surveys, U. S. Hydrographic Office and British Admiralty charts and existing maps. It is on the scale of ten miles to an inch, and is printed in two colours. Copies may be obtained from Mr. Rothery at the office of the International Paper Company, 220 East 42nd St., New York city (single copies \$3.00; additional copies, \$2.00). Mr. Rothery in this paper describes the construction of the map, and the physiography, mineral resources, forest conditions, and land tenure of Newfoundland.

SEMPLE, ELLEN C. *American history and its geographic conditions*. Revised by CLARENCE FIELDEN JONES. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1933. Pp. x, 541. (\$3.00) This is a thorough revision of the earlier edition (published 1903), completely rewritten to include all the important recent economic data. A supplementary reading list has been added. Of most interest to students of Canadian history are the chapters on "The rivers of North America in early exploration and settlement"; "Geography of sea and land operations in the War of 1812"; "The geography of the inland waterways", etc.

V. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

BARNES, WALTER F. *The local historical society—its work and purpose*. (New York history, XIV (4), Oct., 1933, 426-8). A paper read before the local history conference of the New York Historical Association at Southampton, Oct. 6, 1932.

GROULX, LIONEL. *L'enseignement français au Canada. II—Les écoles des minorités*. Montréal: Librairie Granger Frères. 1933. Pp. 271. (\$1.50) To be reviewed later.

KENNEDY, W. P. M. *Legal subjects in the universities of Canada* (Journal of the Society of Teachers of Public Law, 1933, pp. 23 ff.) A detailed account, with special reference to the sociological approach to law in the University of Toronto.

NELLES, J. GORDON. *What Canada loses in the arts graduate* (Queen's quarterly, XLI (1), spring, 1934, 71-80). An article which points out that there is comparatively little tangible encouragement either in or outside the universities of Canada for graduates who might be trained to contribute to the less material side of this country's life.

TOMKINSON, GRACE. *An old schoolmaster speaks* (Dalhousie review, XIV (1), April, 1934, 33-41). A letter written by Andrew Henderson, a Nova Scotian schoolmaster of the early nineteenth century, which gives a vivid picture of his times and sidelights on early education in the Maritimes.

VON HAAST, H. F. *The study of law as a social science* (New Zealand law journal, X (1), Jan., 1934, pp. 7 ff.). A discussion and appreciation of the teaching and research in law at the University of Toronto made after a personal survey by Dr. Von Haast.

WAYMAN, M. *The Canadian student movement* (Student review, New York, organ of the National Student League, 114 West 14th Street, III (3), Feb., 1934, 20-1). Recounts the rise of the Student League of Canada at the University of Toronto.

WEIR, GEORGE M. *The separate school question in Canada*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1934. Pp. ix, 298. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.

VI. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

CARON, IVANHOË. *Le premier archevêque de Québec, Mgr Plessis?* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (1), janv., 1934, 24-6). A note on the circumstances in which Joseph Octave Plessis was nominated Archbishop of Quebec.

Le Frère Jésuite Gilbert du Thet (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (3), mars, 1934, 168). A note on a priest to Acadia who was killed by the English about 1616.

GOYAU, GEORGES. *Les prêtres des missions étrangères*. (Collection "Les Grandes Ordres Monastiques et Instituts Religieux", dirigée par Edouard Schneider.) Paris: Editions Bernard Grasset, 61 rue des Saints-Pères. 1932. Pp. 287. Contains the story of Laval and the foundation of the Seminary of Quebec.

LEMAI, HUGOLIN. *Les trois Pères Récollets du nom de Constantin* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (1), janv., 1934, 43).

Lettre du ministre à Mgr Dosquet, évêque de Samos, coadjuteur de Québec (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (2), fév., 1934, 125-8). A letter concerning ecclesiastical matters, dated Versailles, April 11, 1730, transcribed from the Public Archives of Canada.

La mort de Mgr Plessis (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (1), janv., 1934, 36-7). An extract from a letter from Mgr B. C. Panet to Mgr Provencher, describing the death and funeral of Mgr Plessis.

One hundred years of Erskine Church, Montreal, 1833 to 1933. United Church of Canada. 1934. Pp. 122. A permanent record of the programme and addresses of the hundredth anniversary of Erskine Church, Montreal (celebrated on October 1 and 2, 1933), with an appendix of past and present reports of the church's activities, societies, and members.

PACIFIQUE, R. P. *Le premier missionnaire de langue anglaise en Nouvelle-Ecosse* (Études historiques et géographiques—Extrait du bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec—(13), 1932, 13-29). A biographical sketch of the life and work of Father James Jones, Capucin missionary from Cork, who came to Halifax in 1785.

Le Révérend Edmund-Willoughby Sewell (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (3), mars, 1934, 192). A brief biographical note on an Anglican clergyman (1800-90).

ROWLEY, O. R. *The first Anglican bishop of the Arctic* (Beaver, outfit 264, no. 4, March, 1934, 9, 66). An outline of the career of the Right Reverend Archibald Lang Fleming.

SILCOX, CLARIS EDWIN. *Church union in Canada: Its causes and consequences*. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 30 Rockefeller Plaza. 1933. Pp. xvii, 493. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.

VROOM, F. W. *Charles Inglis—an appreciation* (Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXII, 1933, 25-42). An estimate of Bishop Inglis, showing his character, his place in history, and the conditions of the time in which he lived.

WYNNE, JOHN J. *The Mohawk martyr missionaries* (New York history, XIII (1), Jan., 1932, 59-74).

VII. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliographical aids to research. III.—*Indexes to periodicals*, compiled by A. T. MILNE, with assistance from E. S. de BEER and the secretary (Institute of Historical Research, Bulletin, XI (33), Feb., 1934, 165-80). An enumeration of the chief printed means of reference to periodicals, published in western Europe and the United States of America, which contain articles bearing upon history.

[CANADA: DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC PRINTING AND STATIONERY: DIVISION OF DOCUMENTS.] *Catalogue of official publications of the parliament and government of Canada, 1934*. Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, King's Printer. 1934. Pp. 99. This catalogue contains the titles (usually of a descriptive character indicating the nature of the contents) and selling prices of all official publications of which copies can be purchased from the king's printer.

Canadiana (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (1), janv., 1934, 44). A list of articles by Aegidius Fauteux printed in *La Patrie* in 1933 and January, 1934.

- CRAVEN, W. F. *Historical study of the British Empire* (Journal of modern history, VI (1), March, 1934, 40-69). A bibliographical article which surveys half a century's achievement in a comparatively new field of historical investigation—i.e., the significance of the imperial side of British history. An effort is made to indicate the sources of this new interest in the empire's history and to take notice of the more significant trends in its study. The article is of value not only as a summary of the work accomplished but as an indication of the fields requiring more thorough exploration.
- DOUGHTY, ARTHUR G. *Report of the Public Archives for the year 1933*. Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, King's Printer. 1934. Pp. xxiii, 171. (\$1.00) To be reviewed later.
- GRIFFIN, GRACE GARDNER (comp.) *Writings on American history, 1930: A bibliography of books and articles on United States and Canadian history published during the year 1930, with some memoranda on other portions of America*. (Volume II of the annual report of the American Historical Association for the year 1930.) Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office. 1933. Pp. 374. (\$1.00)
- KIRKCONNELL, WATSON. *Ukrainian Canadiana* (Canadian forum, Jan., 1934, 144-5). A summary of the contents of the Ivan Bobersky library in Winnipeg.
- List of research projects in history exclusive of doctoral dissertations, now in progress in the United States and the Dominion of Canada* (American historical review, supplement to XXXIX (3), April, 1934. Pp. 54). Data collected by questionnaires addressed to the heads of history departments in American and Canadian colleges and universities and the directors of research foundations. Arrangement is in chronological order under subject headings of which "Canada" is one. There is also an author index.
- M'n N Canadiana: *Books by Canadians or about Canada: A national wedding present from Wm. Perkins Bull, K.C. to his son Michael Bull, B.A., Oxon., barrister of the Inner Temple and his bride Noreen Hennessy*. Printed for private circulation. [Brantford, Ontario: Charters Publishing Company Limited.] 1933. Pp. xxi, [168]. A very attractively printed and decorated catalogue of the Michael Bull collection of Canadiana. This interesting collection aims to be representative rather than complete and it touches at one point or another on many phases of Canadian political, economic, and social development.
- [NOVA SCOTIA, PROVINCE OF.] *Report of Board of Trustees of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia for the year ended 31st December, 1933*. Halifax: Minister of Public Works and Mines, King's Printer. 1934. Pp. 51. Professor Harvey reports that the documents transferred to the manuscript room of the Nova Scotia Archives during the year have been classified in nine series, as follows: (1) The correspondence of the secretaries of state for Canada and the provinces, from 1867 to 1905 (arranged chronologically); (2) the lieutenant-governor's correspondence; (3) the acts of the legislature in manuscript form, 1758-1855 (arranged chronologically); (4) papers dealing with roads and bridges covering the period 1782-1891; (5) miscellaneous papers, etc., of the County Court and Inferior Court of Common Pleas for Halifax, 1750 to 1756; (6) papers and records of the Nova Scotia militia (arranged according to regiments); (7) a number of records of marriages and deaths in the second half of the nineteenth century (arranged chronologically and by counties); the Chipman collection, containing material for a connected and more or less complete history of King's County as an administrative unit. Appendix A to the *Report* contains a list of donors and donations. Among the more notable additions to the archives during the past year are seventeen volumes of the official correspondence of the deputy postmaster general for the Province of Nova Scotia prior to Confederation. Appendix B consists of four early descriptions of Nova Scotia, hitherto unpublished. These are noted separately in this list.
- FARGELLIS, STANLEY M and CUTHBERT, NORMA B. *Collection of papers of Lord Loudoun in the Huntington Library* (The Huntington Library bulletin, no. 3, Feb., 1933). The authors deal briefly with the English colonial papers from 1756-8 and the French colonial papers from 1742-53. We have been unable to see a copy of this issue of the *Bulletin*.

[ROY, P. G.] *Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1932-1933*. (Département du secrétaire de la province.) Québec: Rédempti Paradis. 1933. Pp. xiv, 456. To be reviewed later.

VIII. ART AND LITERATURE

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Krieghoff discovers Canada* (Canadian geographical journal, VIII (3), March, 1934, 101-13). An account of the life and art of Cornelius Krieghoff, with reproductions of many of his pictures of Canadian scenes.

— *The tree of dreams: A Christmas legend of Notre-Dame de Lorette* (Canadian geographical journal, VII (6), Dec., 1933, 249-60).

BROWN, E. K. *Canadian literature today* (Sewanee review, University of the South, Oct.-Dec., 1933, pp. 13). Exhibits causes of its sterility.

CAMPBELL, ROBERT M. *A legend of French Canada* (Canada-West Indies magazine, Jan., 1934, 55-6). The story of La Chasse Galerie and its background.

GAUTIER, YVES. *La langue française au Canada: Les raisons de sa survivance* (Canada français, XXI (8), avril, 1934, 738-50).

LOWER, A. R. M. *Colonialism and culture* (Canadian forum, XIV (163), April, 1934, 264-5). A brief analysis of Canadian culture.

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Tableaux, portraits et images d'autrefois* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (2) fév., 1934, 117-20). A list of pictures, images, portraits, and objects of devotion found in dwellings and in certain institutions in New France between 1662 and 1760.

MORISSET, GÉRARD. *Un cantique des Acadiens* (Nova Francia, VII (2), juillet-déc., 1932, 266-7).

PRATT, E. J. *Marjorie Pickthall* (Canadian forum, XIII (153), June, 1933, 334-5). An impression of her work.

RODDIS, LOUIS H. *The poet of Flanders Fields: Lieutenant Colonel John McCrae, Canadian Army Medical Corps* (Annals of internal medicine, VI, 1657-62). A brief biographical sketch, the fifth in a series of articles on medical poets which have appeared in this journal.

ROY, CAMILLE. *L'état actuel de nos lettres* (Canada français, XXI (1), sept., 1933, 5-18).

SHAW, R. W. *The Indian in our literature* (Ontario library review, XVII (2), May, 1933, 52-6).

STEVENS, JAMES. *The Saginaw Paul Bunyan*. Woodcuts by RICHARD BENNETT. New York: Knopf. 1932. Pp. 261. (\$2.50) A myth of the French-Canadian lumberjack.

TRAQUAIR, RAMSAY. *The house of Simon McTavish, no. 27 St. Jean Baptiste Street, Montreal*. (McGill University publications, series XIII (art and architecture), no. 37.) Reprinted, with additional plate, from the Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, November, 1933. Montreal: 1933. Pp. 7. A description of Simon McTavish's house with photographs and architectural plans.

WALTER, FELIX. *Jules Fournier* (Canadian forum, XIII (154), July, 1933, 382-3). Some notes on a French-Canadian political journalist of the first eighteen years of the twentieth century.

